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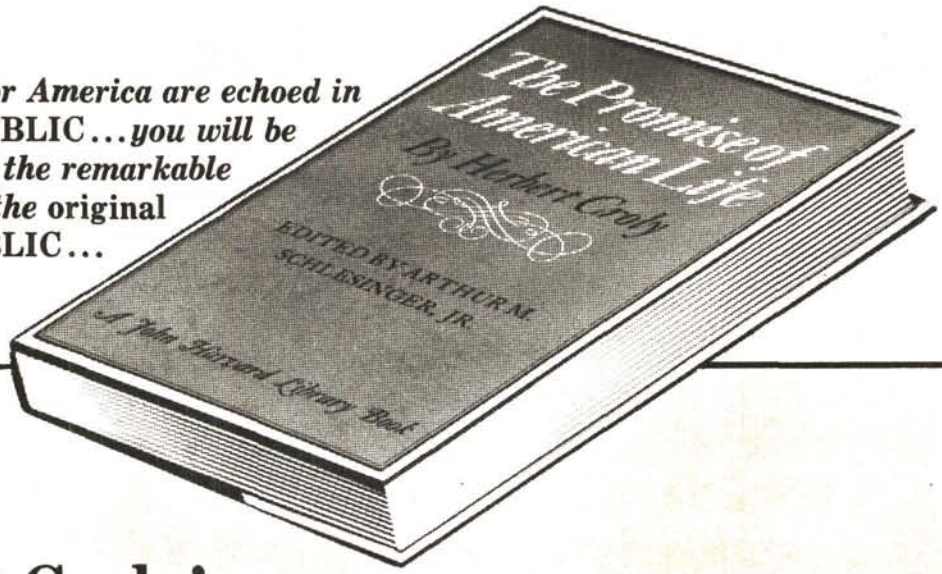

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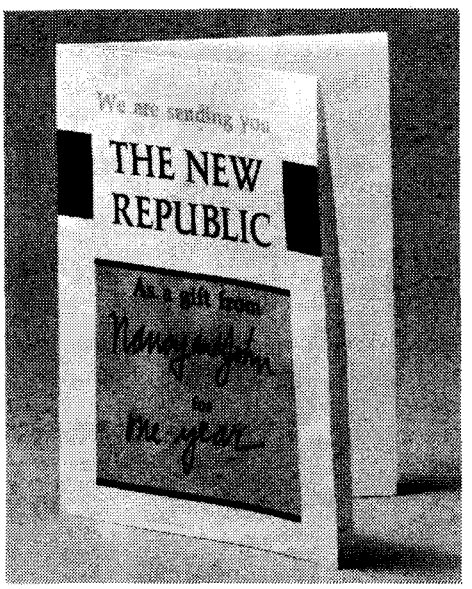

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T.R.B. *from Washington*

One-and-a-Half Party System

★ Top Republican leaders meet here this week and it is time to consider what ails the party. Our own diagnosis is that America has been changing swiftly but that the GOP has tried to remain the same. It has been so successful that now it is outnumbered two-to-one in Congress and by almost two-to-one in the public, according to the latest Gallup poll. We don't have a two party system any more; we have a one-and-a-half party system.

Republicans were the party of the great, white, Protestant, Anglo-Saxon middle class. The party fought the Civil War and freed the slaves, and all hail to it. It pretty well ran the country, too, down to 1912. But all the time immigrants were pouring in. As about their last act the small town, God-fearing Puritans enacted prohibition, defeated Al Smith and imposed immigrant quotas. But the quotas came too late for political purposes and prohibition was the last fling (if that is the word) for the Evangelicals.

The thing came to a head in the New Deal. Labor, originally held by the "full dinner pail," dropped off. So did the Negro vote, which Lincoln had bequeathed. Farmers remained loyal (in good times) and so did the small cities and towns where the old GOP cultural pattern dominated. But oddly enough there was a rift even in business. Republican congressmen increasingly ran the party, but the ones who survived such landslides as those of Roosevelt and Johnson came from safe seats. They tended to be out of the main stream; they had lost touch with urban masses, and they had lost touch with a lot of the bigger businessmen too. Well, the whole thing collapsed in 1964. Goldwater Republicanism was the protest of frustrated people with urbanization, industrialization, trade unions, and broken English. It was a last drive for a return to the sturdy past, the 19th Century *laissez-faire* outlook, the servant girl who knew her place and the Congregational Church on the village green.

Most of the Republican leaders here this week know what ought to be done; the difficulty is how to do it. They know that they have no future as the party of alienation and nostalgia. Nobody has put it better than former GOP chairman Leonard Hall in an article last March in the *Chicago Sun-Times*. The party, he said simply, has "become too exclusive." When you go to a national GOP gathering, he said, "the faces you see and the names you hear are rarely Negro, Italian-American, Polish-American, Irish-American, Jewish or any of the other groups that combine to make up our country."

Mr. Hall said the party "has lost touch" with the new Americans. In the 1960 and 1964 elections, he continued, the party "lost 75 percent of the Roman Catholic vote. We lost 80 percent of the Jewish vote and we lost from 75 to 96 percent of the Negro vote. . . . Unless we can make great political gains among minority groups, we will continue to lose the big cities by tremendous votes."

What's to Be Done?

★ It is all very well to say this, but how do you get the departed followers back? Republican "gains" in the South in 1964 included the switch of Senator Strom Thurmond and Representative Albert W. Watson of South Carolina, and the election of six segregationist GOP congressmen in Alabama. That doesn't bring back the Negroes. Take labor. Republicans are fighting repeal of the "right-to-work" provision of the Taft-Hartley act; Senator Dirksen is trying to overturn the Supreme Court's one man, one vote decision by a constitutional amendment. Labor deplores both moves. In Congress Republicans still seem to be casting "No" votes on social welfare legislation.

Our guess is that the GOP will make a partial comeback not by its own efforts but from the effect of external events. In the normal course of things we imagine it will make a bounce-back of 40 to 50 seats at midterm next year, when Mr. Johnson isn't on the ballot. Prosperity can't last forever, and there will be air pockets let alone crash landings in foreign affairs.

As a matter of fact we think the GOP is evolving a technique for attacking Mr. Johnson on foreign affairs already. It is taking a tough line. Last week congressional leaders Dirksen and Ford all but demanded invasion of Cuba, and Nixon proposed an economic and military blockade. As for Vietnam, the Republicans are not only 100 percent behind the President but way out in front. "It is not the fact that we are in Vietnam that will count," intoned Mr. Dirksen, "but that we have been in Vietnam too long without decisive and encouraging results." In other words, where's our easy victory?

We can't take this sort of thing very seriously, nor do we think the public will. Seven months after election the Republicans are still demoralized. They have got rid of Senator Goldwater and Dean Burch, or almost got rid of them, but they haven't anything positive to offer in their place. Just nostalgia, just negativism, isn't enough. The Republicans, whether they like it or not, have got to come into the 20th Century, accept the telephone and Keynesian economics, and adopt positions liberal enough to attract the skeptical independents.

★ *Notes:* We don't see much aid to the unemployed and poor in the Administration's $5 billion excise tax cuts on cars, racing admissions, toilet articles, TV sets, sporting goods, cameras, furs and jewelry; what the poor need are schools, hospitals and homes. . . . A 5-year Harvard Business School study of 324 campus recruiters found 80 hiring only Protestants, 42 only Catholics and 14 only Jews; it attributed the shortage of business executives to religious discrimination. . . . A special committee under Gen. T. D. White which examined Air Force Academy cheating puts the blame on football; the Academy recruits players, makes them an elite, demands gridiron victories to finance other sports and they can't keep up with their studies. It's the old story.

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Have Gun, Will Sell

This country has become the world's largest salesman of all modern weapons short of nuclear bombs, and the biggest consumer of small arms. Germany and Japan, bitter beaten foes of 20 years ago, are America's chief customers for arms. Encouraged to buy new US tanks, the Germans sell slightly older tanks to the Israelis, while German scientists help Egypt build rockets. Firms that trafficked in arms for profit used to be tagged merchants of death and governments were urged to control sales of munitions. Now the Department of Defense helps arrange credits that swell the sales.

While our government eagerly pushes its tanks and planes into foreign hands, foreigners transform the US into the world's biggest dumping ground for cut-rate small arms, so that we now have a huge domestic disarmament problem. The Italian gun the Warren Commission said Lee Harvey Oswald used to kill President Kennedy was only one of 1.5 million foreign guns dumped here that year with low-price tags tied to their barrels. This weird import trade continues. Partly because of prodding by Senator Robert Kennedy and Representative Charles S. Joelson (D, N.J.), the Pentagon recently ceased selling surplus guns to Americans, except for scrap. But continued imports of guns mean that self-appointed vigilantes and criminals can go on arming themselves. Why doesn't the Administration and Congress do something about this dangerous import trade and, while they are about it, take a hard second look at the Pentagon's vigorous pushing of arms sales abroad?

The facts are these. Defense spending abroad contributes about $1.7 billion a year to the US adverse payments balance. Determined to wipe this from the ledger, the Pentagon has pushed up arms sales abroad from $350 million to $1.5 billion a year. Elated by this "success," which has made the US the biggest arms trader in the world, Deputy Assistant Secretary of Defense Henry J. Kuss Jr. aims to raise the annual sales figure to $5.4 billion by 1967 or bust. Last month Mr. Kuss got the Defense Secretary's Meritorious Civilian Service Medal for his efforts as arms salesman-in-chief. It must have made Mr. McNamara feel he was back at Ford, exhorting the boys to make this an even bigger year. Before Mr. Kuss picked up the arms sales torch it was borne by Paul Nitze, who when he was Assistant Secretary of Defense for International Affairs declared: "If we are to compete successfully for this business we can't rely on repeat sales. We will have . . . an active national program involving the industrial, banking and government sectors." When President Eisenhower

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warned against the "military-industrial complex" he little knew how much bigger it would grow, how soon.

The Pentagon's push has annoyed America's allies. The British especially depend on arms sales abroad to help pay for their troops abroad. Most of these troops are in Germany, who was Britain's best customer for arms until the US got the business. The British grumble that the Yanks grabbed it unfairly, by putting political pressure on the Germans. British Brigadier W. F. K. Thompson says bitterly that what the US really wants when it insists on arms standardization in NATO is "acceptance by others of American ideas and equipment." The Pentagon replies that the British would be able to compete if they took fewer teabreaks. Actually nobody can compete with the US, which outspends all other countries on arms research and development and has in the Pentagon the world's biggest built-in customer. But talk of efficiency in competing is beside the point. The competition should stop before it leads to worldwide proliferation of conventional weapons which would be almost as dangerous as nuclear proliferation. In its place, there has to be coordination of the West's arms research and arms industries, to match the degree of coordination that has been achieved (but still needs improving) of the West's defenses. Japan and India have to be consulted and somewhere along the line the Soviet Union has to be brought in, although as of now Soviet arms sales abroad are running at only $400 million a year – far below the US annual figure of $1.5 billion that the Pentagon wants to treble.

Freedom of the Mails

Congress in 1962 provided that "Communist political propaganda" mailed to the United States from abroad was to be stopped, examined, and sent on to the addressee only if, upon being notified of what was held for him, he expressly requested delivery. Material for which one subscribed, and all mail addressed to government agencies and educational institutions were exempted. Authority to diagnose a given piece of mail as "Communist political propaganda" was given the Customs service under a complex statutory definition.

On May 24, a unanimous Supreme Court held this statute unconstitutional. Nobody but its legislative father, Rep. Glenn Cunningham (R, Neb.) mourned its passing. The Administration, through Postmaster General John Gronouski, expressed relief. The Supreme Court itself experienced no difficulty in reaching a result that the Justices apparently thought almost obvious. To be sure, there lurked in the statute a curious constitutional problem, namely, whether the First Amendment confers protection upon materials written and printed abroad by a foreign government; whether, in other words, the First Amendment confers any rights on, say, the government of the Soviet Union. The answer to this question might lie in the late Justice Jackson's remark that the Constitution ought not to be construed as a suicide pact. But this problem did not arise because the statute inhibited not merely the freedom to send, but the freedom to receive.

The requirement to come forward and ask for delivery of what had been officially labeled "Communist political propaganda" cannot have failed to have a deterrent effect on prospective recipients, especially those who might have cause to think about their security clearances. This sort of deterrent, in these circumstances, the Court held, infringes a right guaranteed by the First Amendment. For as Justice Brennan said, "it would be a barren marketplace of ideas that had only sellers and no buyers."

The AMA Budget

What would happen to the American Medical Association in the unlikely event of all-out socialized medicine for the US. For one thing, the AMA's annual budget would be considerably cut. According to a (very sketchy) summary of finances in its weekly *News*, the AMA spent almost 30 percent of its $23.3 million budget last year on "paper, printing and mailing," and another 10.7 percent on "communications," which together or separately is a lot for propaganda against Medicare (and other social ills). The second biggest expense was 17.8 percent for "business," which might be cut, too, with less communicating and paper work.

For an organization so concerned about keeping up professional standards, there was remarkably little money spent for medical activities: $914,000 for scientific publications (*The Journal* and 10 others); $2.3 million for "scientific activities"; and $1.3 million was spent for "socio-economic activities," but it is unclear from the published report whether that should be added to the "scientific" column or to "paper, printing and mailing." (Socio-economic includes "the work of Washington, D.C., medical liaison representatives," which sounds like more "communications.")

The AMA's biggest source of income turns out to be not membership dues or subscriptions to publications, but advertising. It accounts for 44.8 percent of the total income (a quarter of a million dollars less than expenses last year, unfortunately). With a national health program that included free or at-cost drugs and medical supplies, that ad revenue would drop also.

All the figures almost make one forget about the inalienable right to choose one's own physician from a cast of thousands in the Yellow Pages.

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Discriminating TV in Jackson, Mississippi

For most TV station owners, license renewal by the Federal Communications Commission comes after a bureaucratic once-over lightly. However, WLBT in Jackson, Mississippi, has been in continuous conflict with the Commission over civil rights programming since 1955. That year, the station deliberately cut off an NBC network program in which Thurgood Marshall, general counsel of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, was appearing. It substituted a sign saying, "Sorry, Cable Trouble." The NAACP filed a complaint and included an article from the *Jackson State Times* reporting WLBT's general manager's remark at a meeting of the local White Citizens Council – in which he still holds membership – "that radio and TV networks were overloading the circuits with Negro propaganda." Marshall was blanked out, said WLBT, because "it has been our policy not to permit local or network propaganda on either side. . . . If it had been telecast then we would have been obligated to make equal time available to the other side."

In 1957, the late Medgar Evers, field secretary of the NAACP, unsuccessfully sought equal time on WLBT after telecast of a program in which elected Mississippi officials discussed "The Little Rock Crisis." The program participants, according to Evers, "included only persons of the Caucasian race and expressed only the segregationist point of view and thereby did not express the views of Negroes on this very vital issue." WLBT'S owners answered that "time was not given for a reply [by Evers] to these elected officials as we did not consider the matters presented as being controversial but a report from our duly elected officials to the people of Mississippi." At the same time, the letter stressed a continuation of the policy of not presenting local programs dealing with racial integration. WLBT's 1958 renewal was delayed a year by the FCC and only granted after the Commission directed the station to be certain that "authorized facilities are not used to misinform the viewing public."

During the fall of 1962, at the time James Meredith enrolled at the University of Mississippi, complaints against the station reached such a pitch that the FCC began a special inquiry. The station by letter was asked to submit a report on its telecasts dealing with racial integration along with its efforts to present contrasting views on that issue. Among the programs the station reported it carried were a series of editorials opposing Meredith's entry into "Ole Miss." Their tone was indicated by excerpts from one broadcast of September 12, 1962: "Mississippi is facing the final hour in its official fight to maintain segregation in all its public schools. . . . Mississippi is fortunate in having men at its leadership who have vowed to prevent integration of our schools. . . ."

About the same time, the FCC found, WLBT presented a series of commercial announcements, paid for by the Jackson Citizens' Council, showing "published proof that the Communists are behind the racial agitation now going on in Mississippi."

Responding to the Commission's questions about applicability to these telecasts of the fairness doctrine – which requires a station to make equal time available for the "other side" – WLBT said, "it had no understanding that the fairness doctrine extended to commercial spot announcements." As to the anti-Meredith editorials, they did not deal with "racial integration as such" but rather with "states' rights" in a "constitutional crisis."

While the FCC was trying to decide what to do about WLBT – and several other apparently less culpable Mississippi stations – license renewal time again came around. The United Church of Christ, along with two Mississippi civil rights leaders – Aaron Henry, president of the state's NAACP, and Reverend Robert L. T. Smith of the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party – petitioned the Commission to deny renewal on the grounds that WLBT failed to serve its Negro audience, which made up 45 percent of the service area's population, and did not give a fair presentation of race relations.

With regard to religious programming, WLBT was found to carry four hours of church services each Sunday. But though half the city's churches are Negro, the only program telecast for them was 15 minutes of spirituals at 6:45 a.m. Negroes were not permitted to participate in live talent programs carried by WLBT – specifically cited was a one-hour dance program called "Teen Tempo" which allegedly invited only whites to appear.

Several individual affidavits attached to the church petition alleged that WLBT at times introduced NBC network news broadcasts on the morning *Today* show with a local voice saying "What you are about to see is an example of biased, managed, Northern news. Be sure to stay tuned at 7:25 to hear your local newscast."

The WLBT reply was unusually abrupt: ". . . Apparently [the church group] feels that 45 percent of programming on Station WLBT should be Negro programming simply because it is their understanding that this is the population percentage in the area. It appears immaterial to them that many of these Negroes may not desire to appear on the station, may not have anything to say, may not have any talent and to date have not been able to take advantage of the offers of

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time made to them by the station." As to civil rights programs: "[The FCC] must . . . allow a station to decide how an inflammatory issue should be handled on a local basis. It is clear that the public interest may require that a certain issue not be presented."

As the Commission took up WLBT's renewal early this year, one further issue – actual ownership of the station – was added to the matters under consideration. Mississippi law prevented the Lamar Life Insurance Company from owning a television outlet, and so Lamar Life Broadcasting was formed to operate WLBT with ownership vested in five of its officers and employees. The insurance company put up the money to build the station and received an option – which has been periodically renewed – to purchase this multi-million property for $10,000.

On April 9, while license renewal was under active FCC consideration, Lamar Life Insurance Company announced to the Commission it wanted to exercise its option and take direct control of WLBT.

Finally, the Commission decided by a 4-2 vote on May 20, to renew WLBT's license for one year, rather than the normal three years, during which time the station will be given an opportunity to "demonstrate and carry out its stated willingness to serve fully and fairly the needs and interests of its entire area." Chairman E. William Henry strongly dissented from the one-year approval and was joined by Commissioner Kenneth Cox. The issue was not civil rights, Henry contended, but "the integrity of the public interest standard and the Commission's renewal process."

The fight is far from over. Should Lamar Life Insurance follow through and exercise its option, the Commission will review the transfer of control. In addition, WLBT's next renewal application must be filed in nine months; at that time outside parties will again have a chance to comment.

Meanwhile other stations across the South must take into account the Commission's general feeling that broadcasters "can make a most worthwhile contribution to the resolution of [race relations] problems. . . . That contribution is needed now – and should not be put off for the future." Those are good words, but unless the Commission is willing to use its licensing power to back them up, they are meaningless.

WALTER PINCUS

Philadelphia Polls the Poor

Philadelphia

Thirteen thousand residents of the slums came out in an unusual election last week to select "poor" representatives who are to help run Philadelphia's anti-poverty war. The turnout was not large, about 3 percent of a half million people eligible. But Charles W. Bowser, executive director of the city's Anti-Poverty Action Committee declared, "to get 13,000 people in an election of this type with amateurs running, with no party loyalties at stake – to get this kind of interest and enthusiasm generated by this election is just thrilling."

On the other hand, Norval Reece, head of the local Americans for Democratic Action, one of the groups that took a dim view of the proceedings, suggested that had the city bothered to push these elections, there would have been many more voters. Reece felt some candidates were confused about why they were running, and people of the slums mixed up about why they were being asked to vote.

Philadelphia's poor elections have been touted by Sargent Shriver's office as a "model" way for engaging the poor in their own war. Certainly, they do represent a considerable improvement in the city's efforts to set up an anti-poverty program, which until very recently were in a mess.

Last summer Mayor James H. J. Tate put together a task force, consisting mainly of city officials, which was to draw up and then administer Philadelphia's poverty program. The plan it eventually submitted to the Office of Economic Opportunity in Washington was rejected because it neither hooked together existing city welfare services, nor did it directly involve the poor. Then, this February, representatives of labor and civil rights groups formed a Citizens Emergency Committee on Anti-Poverty, and after a good deal of badgering both at city hall and in Washington, won Mayor Tate around to a compromise plan.

The city set up a 30-member Philadelphia Anti-Poverty Action Committee (PAAC). The Mayor appoints five of its members and designates 12 private organizations which have one seat each. A judge of the county court sits on the committee as do 12 members directly from the slums. As executive director of the program, Tate named Bowser, a young Negro

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lawyer who previously served on the city's police advisory board. And to appease Cecil Moore, the volatile leader of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People who claims to speak for the Negro leadership, Tate has placed Isaiah W. Crippins, the NAACP's attorney, in a slot beneath Bowser.

The city slums are carved into 12 districts. Each is to have its own Community Action Council, consisting of 12 members elected in last week's balloting. These councils will open offices in the slums and become the vehicle by which the poverty war is carried to the poor. In structure they are nearly autonomous; Bowser sees no reason why they could not go off on their own running store boycotts or rent strikes or formulating whatever policies they want. Each one of the 12 councils will send one man to the main PAAC committee, where citywide policies will be thrashed out.

Anyone over 21 was eligible to vote in the poverty elections. To run, a candidate needed 50 signatures on a petition. A candidate's basic family income could not be over $3,100. There were certain exceptions: an additional $500 of income was allowed for each dependent; total income could not exceed $6,000. Six candidates were discovered to be mixed-up in city politics; they were barred. In all 354 made the race.

The claim is made both at city hall and by Shriver's people in Washington that now at long last the poor are participating in planning as well as in running a poverty program. Actually, the city put in for $5 million of poverty projects – with OEO's blessings – *before* the elections took place, which led some in the slums to say the elections were just another stunt by Philadelphia's Democratic machine. Bowser replies that the city had to request the money before the elections, because it won't get any of it if the plans are not cleared by June 30, the end of the fiscal year.

The people who went to the town meetings that were held throughout the slums to popularize last week's balloting, repeatedly displayed a somewhat cynical confidence that the Mayor's five appointees would join those of the 12 private organizations to vote down the 12 representatives of the poor. In their minds there was no difference between the city officials and those people they associate with private social welfare activities. They dislike both. Attendance at the first round of town meetings held late in April was nearly 10,000. But a week before the election was held, only 1,000 turned out for a second series of meetings. And little wonder: these were dreary affairs. There were tedious, abstract explanations of election procedures; anyone who ventured to ask pointed questions about houses or jobs, got the run-around. The time was taken up by the candidates for reciting their names, addresses, and whichever church or clubs they belonged to; most concluded with a parody of one of Sargent Shriver's own speeches about the wonderful war on poverty.

Infrequently, the underground resentment against this war on poverty would boil to the surface. "They speak about the poor," snapped Mrs. Novella Williams, a candidate for a community action council in West Philadelphia. "Did they ask the poor people? No. I don't think so because nobody rang my doorbell and I live in poverty. This anti-poverty program is to be a political patronage device dominated by the Mayor."

"Truth to it," muttered an old Negro woman sitting beside me.

"If this program says let us help plan it, then let us help plan it," continued Mrs. Williams. "But *this* anti-poverty program will be designed to satisfy the wishes of the political bosses."

And she went on, "You can integrate this country all you want to, but unless you give the people jobs you're fighting a losing battle."

"Praise the Lord. Praise the Lord!" exclaimed the woman next to me, while Mrs. Williams was loudly applauded.

An unpleasant, fat, white man who claimed to represent a well-established community organization with many accomplishments then declared that Mrs. Williams was sore at the poverty program because she wasn't getting any money out of it.

Mrs. Williams stared icily at him and replied, "All I want is a little human dignity. All I want is a little of what you've already got."

When Mrs. Pauline Williams, another candidate for community action council, got the building inspectors to come see whether they could fix the leak in the water pipes that had flooded her cellar for months, they told her instead to get the refuse off the closet shelves. When she asked a poverty official what the program would do to get her house fixed, he replied that she should go to the city. "What good is it if they don't get at the real estate?" she asked.

Mrs. Pauline Williams doesn't like the pre-school programs that are to be set up this summer in Philadelphia because she feels they contain a suggestion there is something wrong with her children. She says of them: "They're saying our children are dumb. They're saying our children are stupid. Our children *are not* stupid."

Asked what she would like to see the poverty program do, she said: "We need money to fix these houses up. We need money to feed our children. Do you remember when Roosevelt had the WPA thing? They gave the fathers work, didn't they? They gave them food and clothes, didn't they?

"I'm trying to fight my way out," she cried. "I'm tired. Do you understand? I'm tired."

JAMES RIDGEWAY

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Spanish-Speaking Citizens

The Kennedy-Javits Voting Amendment

The Senate on May 20 attached to the voting rights bill an amendment providing that persons illiterate in English must be allowed to vote if they can show that they have completed the sixth (or in New York the eighth) grade in a school in Puerto Rico or elsewhere in the United States in which the language of instruction is not English. The amendment, sponsored by Senator Robert Kennedy of New York and supported by his Republican colleague, Senator Jacob Javits, is intended to nullify a clause in the New York constitution which makes literacy in the English language a qualification for voting in that state. It is thought that thousands of Spanish-speaking Puerto Ricans have been thus disqualified, and the amendment would enfranchise them.

New York is a state well-experienced in assimilating immigrants from other cultures. It has known the evil of monolithic block-voting by homogeneous nationality groups beholden to one powerful leader and virtually inaccessible to anyone else. Fiorello La Guardia could address Italians in Italian and Jews in Yiddish, and Nelson Rockefeller has some Spanish, but the policy of New York's constitution is based on the incontestable fact that, despite a foreign-language press, the stream of political information and argument in the state runs overwhelmingly in English. If a literacy requirement is reasonable, it is at least as reasonable that it be a requirement of literacy in English.

New York's policy, although reasonable, may be wrong. One may place more emphasis than does New York on the desirability of universal suffrage, and one may depreciate the value of direct personal communication between candidate and voter, especially by means of the printed word. The Kennedy-Javits amendment may, therefore, represent a desirable reform. It is nevertheless an undesirable – in the last analysis, an irresponsible – addition to the voting rights bill before the Congress.

To justify this judgment, it is well to begin by asking why the two Senators from New York did not direct their reforming effort at the state legislature, which is currently in session. It is unlikely that a measure which both Robert F. Kennedy and Jacob K. Javits thought it worth their while to support in the Senate, with some fanfare, could not be put through the New York legislature. Theirs are ruling names in both parties in the state. It must be that the Senators did not much care where they achieved their purpose, in Washington or in Albany. But that is precisely what matters. This is too big and diverse a country to be governed in every detail from Washington. All-encompassing national government will be insufficiently responsive, and finally, despite appearances, undemocratic. For economic, fiscal and other reasons, our federalism has been seriously damaged in modern times. It has become, Harold Laski wrote in *The New Republic* a generation ago, obsolescent. It will become fully obsolete if every time a couple of Senators take a notion to institute a reform in their home state, their first recourse is to amend some handy bill before them; the more so if the notion concerns the very structure of the state government.

There is a place where a stop can be put to this irresponsibility, and that is the Supreme Court. One of the functions that the Constitution reserves to our obsolescent states is prescribing qualifications for voting, at least in state and local elections. There is supervisory federal power, of course, such as that contained in the Fifteenth Amendment forbidding racial discrimination (and in the women's vote amendment), or else the entire voting rights bill would be unconstitutional. But the basic state function has been thought to remain. If Congress, however, can use the Equal Protection Clause of the Fourteenth Amendment any time it wishes to substitute a reasonable policy of its own for another equally reasonable policy preferred by a state, then there is nothing left of the state's power to prescribe such reasonable qualifications for voting as it sees fit. The Supreme Court may not – I hope it will not, if New York wishes to litigate the matter – acquiesce in this particular bit of obsolescence. Aside from every other consideration, it is poor politics to encumber a badly needed measure for the enforcement of the Fifteenth Amendment with this extraneous controversy.

ALEXANDER M. BICKEL

SUMMER SCHEDULE

During the summer months, The New Republic will not appear on:

July 17 *July 31*
August 14 *August 28*

Weekly publication will be resumed with the issue dated September 4

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Congress and the "Right to Work"

Labor's fight against state "right-to-work" laws is a vestigial campaign, the appendix to the ferocious New Deal wars which made America safe for unionism. The decisive battle was won in 1935, with the passage of the Wagner Act. There is a certain sense of *déjà vu* this spring as Congress, the President and organized labor go through the process of reguaranteeing the union shop. The terms are the same as in the *Congressional Record* of June, 1935; the literature on both sides could be reprinted from a generation ago; and even the politics follow the classic model.

The offending clause is Section 14 (b) of the Taft-Hartley Act, which allows states to pass laws restricting what some call "compulsory unionism" and others call "union security arrangements." Labor leaders would like unions to be able to bargain for a union shop – which all employees would have to join shortly after starting work. In 31 states, they can. In the remaining 19, "right-to-work" laws make the union shop illegal in the interests of "individual freedom."

President Truman vetoed the Taft-Hartley Act and the "do-nothing Eightieth Congress" (which actually did a lot, none of which was to Mr. Truman's liking) overrode the veto. Labor has been trying to get 14 (b) repealed ever since, and as Democratic majorities in Congress have increased, so have labor's hopes. In 1960, the Democratic platform promised a go at repeal. In 1964, the platform repeated the promise, and with the deluge of Democratic congressional victories in November, labor began work in earnest. Three weeks after the election, the AFL-CIO announced repeal of 14 (b) to be its number-one legislative objective, and informed Mr. Johnson that it was the *quid* which all the help in the campaign was *pro quo*.

In his State of the Union address, the President said he would ask for repeal. Cheers shook the House; Mr. Johnson beamed as his new Congress stood in ovation. The rest was silence. For four months, labor waited for a Presidential message. It was rumored to be ready in late April, then early May. Slowly, the head-over-heels support which Congress gave any request from the White House began to thin. "If the President asked for repeal in January, we would have passed it like *that*," said one Democratic congressman, snapping his fingers. "Now, I'm not so sure."

The truth was that Mr. Johnson was having some difficulty finding his consensus. So far, his reputation for building huge majorities has been based on existing support, not conspicuously clever politicking in Congress. The consensus for education was there to be employed; the same goes for Medicare, poverty, and foreign policy. But the labor message could not be delayed indefinitely. It was sent up on May 18, and included proposals for increasing the amount and the coverage of the minimum wage, strengthening unemployment insurance programs and – almost as an afterthought – repeal of 14 (b).

It was difficult to tell whether the President was tooling up for a fight or shutting down. Johnsonian stalwarts claimed the peculiar understatement of the repeal proposal (it was contained in one sentence, at the very end of the message, and wearily began, "Finally . . .") was really a clever way to disarm the opposition. But more suspicious legislators began to doubt the President's dedication to repeal – or at least his willingness to exert enough influence to get it through the House.

For try as they might, supporters of repeal could not count a safe majority for their side with any assurance. The most hopeful found 221 votes for repeal, but that was compounded of 174 "certain" and 47 "probable." Against it were 166 "hopeless" and 48 "possible." Repeal began as a relatively simple issue: HR 77, the more-or-less official repeal bill, introduced by Rep. Frank Thompson of New Jersey, contained just 19 lines. It should have been easy to tell how the Congress would line up; since the Taft-Hartley Act, everyone running for Congress has had to take a position on 14 (b). But the 19 lines would not stand still. Rep. Robert P. Griffin, the second-ranking Republican on the House Education and Labor Committee, introduced his own bill to repeal the section and at the same time outlaw racial discrimination in unions and prohibit union expenditures for political campaigns. If the Committee Chairman, Rep. Adam Clayton Powell, could be embarrassed by anything, the anti-discrimination rider would do it. But Powell remains unflappable; he may push the clause for a while, but he is bound to support the Administration's effort.

Despite the fact that the Civil Rights Act of 1964 does much to discourage discrimination in unions, there is some sentiment for adding the Griffin civil rights rider to the repeal bill. (There is much less for the anti-political action rider, which the AFL-CIO would find intolerable.) Republicans who might otherwise vote against repeal could be convinced that a vote *for* civil rights would be more popular than a vote *against* right-to-work. Even some Democrats from the 19 right-to-work states might be able to rationalize their own partiality for repeal with their responsibility to their constituencies by calling 14 (b) a civil rights issue. Rep. Morris K. Udall of Arizona, one of the

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most dedicated and thoughtful liberals in Congress, decided after some mental torment that he could not vote for repeal – that is, against the expressed wishes of his constituents in three right-to-work referenda. (Arizona first passed the law in 1946, as a "veterans' right-to-work law," which made it unpatriotic to vote against it.) Udall might be able to vote for repeal if the bill also dealt with civil rights subjects.

A repeal vote will certainly hurt many of the new Democratic congressmen who managed to ride the anti-Goldwater tide last fall in normally conservative districts. It will be hard for the new Iowa Democrats, and those from upstate New York and other rural areas, to justify votes for repeal back home. They may be persuaded to brazen it out, but the anti-discrimination rider could ease the pain. Conversely, injection of the race issue would surely stiffen Southern resistance – possibly even to the extent of a filibuster in the Senate, and would also fudge the parliamentary purity of the simple repeal statement.

Ten of the states with industrial right-to-work laws are in the South (Louisiana has a law covering only agricultural workers); the others are mainly in the Southwest and the North Central plains. Most of the 124 congressmen from the 19 states with the laws will vote against repeal – with some few exceptions, perhaps, in such states as Georgia, Texas, Tennessee and Wyoming. But repeal will require Republican help not only from the dozen or so GOP liberals in the pro-union club. There are some suggestions that aid from the conservatives is on the way: Rep. William H. Ayres of Ohio, the ranking Republican on the House Committee, said last month that he will vote for repeal. The liberals are hoping for a few more such defections – perhaps from states which, like Ohio (and California), have rejected right-to-work laws in referenda. There will also be pressure from big business on congressmen from non-right-to-work states to repeal 14 (b) and thus presumably lessen economic competition from the states with weaker unions.

Labor Has Won Its Place

As much as both sides would like to make the controversy one of critical importance in national economic policy, it remains largely symbolic. Labor has won its place in the establishment; there is not likely to be a wave of union-busting, even without repeal. In recent years, talk of a national right-to-work law has disappeared (the Taft-Hartley Act outlaws only the closed shop, a practice which restricted jobs to workers who were already union members). Indiana's state legislature repealed its right-to-work law, Louisiana removed industrial workers from its coverage, and several other states have roundly rejected similar laws. Repeal has narrowly missed twice in Utah, and in California a right-to-work referendum in 1958 helped Pat Brown (who was *con*) demolish William F. Knowland (who was *pro*) in a gubernatorial campaign.

There have been several studies of the effect of the laws in the states where they exist, and the overwhelming conclusion is that they count practically for very little. Proponents of the laws boast that right-to-work states attract new industry, that wages rise swiftly, and that total employment increases. Opponents claim that the laws weaken unions, and the result is comparatively low wages, meager welfare programs and ineffective collective bargaining.

Both positions are overstated. In every case, other factors are controlling; all things are not equal. From the mass of conflicting statistics, the only conclusion to be drawn is that states in which there is anti-union and anti-welfare sentiment pass right-to-work laws, and the atmosphere toward labor does not get friendlier thereafter. But union membership has not dropped significantly in most of the right-to-work states; it has increased in many. There is not much money lost in union dues, either, but it is expensive for labor organizations to keep fighting right-to-work referenda and state legislature bills, and to maintain lobbies for individual state repeal. (The huge California campaign in 1958 was said to cost $2 million.)

Proportionately, few industrial workers live in right-to-work states. The biggest industries are in states which wouldn't dream of enacting such laws. Even where the laws exist, they are generally unenforced, or circumvented. In recent years, the agency shop – which has been declared legal under right-to-work laws – has replaced the union shop, and for the same effect. Workers in an agency shop are not required to join the union, but they must pay regular initiation fees and dues, thus eliminating the problem of the "free ride" employee who benefits from collective bargaining by the union but won't pay for it. In some industries, such as construction, the union shop (and the federally-outlawed closed shop, as well) has gone "underground," sanctioned by employers if not by law.

But the principle of uninhibited collective bargaining remains dear to labor's heart, and so it expends every effort to fight for repeal of 14 (b). This year, the labor leaders say, may be the last opportunity for action; the Democratic majority is as big, and the power of the President as great, as it is likely to be for another generation. The Senate should not balk at repeal (once the Labor Subcommittee Chairman, Michigan's Pat McNamara, gets the bill from the House and works up enough enthusiasm to schedule hearings). In the House, where hearings began last week, one congressman said, "It's now or never."

ANDREW KOPKIND

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The Mann to Watch

by Alex Campbell

Thomas C. Mann, who is President Johnson's chief adviser on Latin American affairs, likes to describe himself as a pragmatist. He probably means only that he believes himself to be a practical man. Unfortunately, to many Latin Americans the term conveys a much more derogatory meaning. They think of a pragmatist as being a cynic who is without ideals.

This would be a very poor description of Mr. Mann, the nobility of whose intentions is unchallengeable. But the misunderstanding seems to typify his relations with the Latin Americans. On December 18, 1963, the day before the Senate unanimously confirmed Mr. Mann's nomination as Assistant Secretary of State for Inter-American Affairs, President Johnson said: "We expect to speak with one voice on all matters affecting the hemisphere. Mr. Mann, with the support of the Secretary of State and the President, will be that voice." Mr. Mann was promoted this year to Undersecretary for Economic Affairs. He is obviously more the voice than ever. But many Latin Americans seem to wish he weren't.

A fourth-generation Texan and therefore not easily discouraged, Mr. Mann is suspected of harboring a conviction that those Latin Americans who disagree with him publicly actually agree with him in private. He thinks that what keeps them in public disagreement with him, even when in their hearts they know he is right, is their natural disinclination to be observed concurring with a Yanqui, and their fear of their own well-disciplined, stop-at-nothing Communists, which compels them to pretend to show dislike of Mr. Mann's vigorous anti-Communism.

This ingenious if implausible theory may console Mr. Mann, who is not really a pragmatist in even the normal sense of the term, but a romantic. But the patent distrust that many Latin Americans have of him rests on much less fanciful foundations.

Last June, Mr. Mann in an address to the Washington Institute of Foreign Affairs pleased progressive Latin Americans by demanding vibrant change, social justice and an end to archaic attitudes, and by spiritedly hinting: "Our own nation was born in revolution." But this April when the Dominican Republic's constitutional rebels began passing out arms to the people in the spirit of 1776, Mr. Mann at once concluded that those rebel leaders who were doing this and the people who were getting the arms were all Communists. This if true would indicate the presence in Santo Domingo alone of no fewer than 20,000 Communists, a figure that not even General Wessin y Wessin claimed.

Then again, say the Latin Americans, according to Mr. Mann the US dispatched Marines and paratroopers to the Dominican Republic in part so that the Dominicans could choose their own government "free of outside interference." This struck many Latin Americans as a typically cynical remark; for they thought that if it did not express cynicism it was plainly the remark of a fool, and nobody in Latin America, or elsewhere, thinks Undersecretary Mann anything but able. Further, the statement only served to remind them that Mr. Mann helped plan the forcible overthrow of Castro which was attempted at the time of the Bay of Pigs, and he played a part in the actual overthrow of President Arbenz of Guatemala in 1954. Arbenz was accused of being a Communist; after his overthrow, Mann was appointed deputy chief of the US mission in Guatemala City. Mr. Mann discussed the Guatemala incident publicly last year. He said that Arbenz was voted into power by a majority of the people of Guatemala, in free elections, then added that this proved that the United States need not and should not be committed to "support all constitutional governments under all circumstances." In the Guatemala affair, as in the Bay of Pigs planning and in the dispatch of US troops to the Dominican Republic this April, Mr. Mann worked closely with the CIA.

The CIA listed 55 Communists at work in Santo Domingo (some of them, it now seems, were in fact dead or in jail at the time of the uprising). Agents of the Federal Bureau of Investigation have since been dispatched to Santo Domingo and may do better. What seems, in fact, to have happened is that a revolt of unemployed people with middle-class leadership encountered stiff military resistance, the rebels seized and distributed arms many of which fell into the hands of hooligans (including, no doubt, Communists) who began systematic killing of policemen and other natural foes, and some of the middle-class leaders of the revolt then lost their nerve and took sanctuary in embassies and so forth when law and order collapsed. These middle-class leaders are in the best position to know if it's true that the Communists planned to and

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did for a time seize control of the revolution; it appears, however, that they are refusing to testify any such thing.

Last September Thomas Mann told the Dallas Council on World Affairs: "Communists have for several decades been at the job of infiltrating middle and South American institutions. . . . Today some of them take their orders from Moscow, some from Peking and some from Havana. The tactics differ but they share a common goal: world domination." And he thinks the "domino theory" applies just as much to Latin America as to Southeast Asia: if Santo Domingo goes, then there go Haiti, Honduras, Venezuela, Guatemala and Panama.

Astute Latin Americans note that by its armed intervention the US has confronted itself with two awkward questions. First, what has happened to Articles 15 and 16 of the Charter of the Organization of American States, which Mr. Mann approvingly quoted in full in an address ("The Democratic Ideal in Our Policy Toward Latin America") at the University of Notre Dame last June? Article 15 says that no state or group of states has the right to intervene, directly or indirectly, for any reason whatever, in the internal or external affairs of any other state. The two articles together specifically prohibit the use of armed force or coercive measures of an economic or political character. Second question: Has the United States tipped off the Reds that a handful of Communists – for no one really believes that Santo Domingo ever had 20,000, or even 2,000 – can tie up 22,000 US troops, in any corner of Latin America and at any time of the Communists' choosing? The critics have a further question: Hasn't the US action "cut the throats" of both the Organization of American States and the Alliance for Progress, and won't Latin America's few remaining friendly governments find themselves hard pressed by their domestic critics for appearing to side with the Yanqui treaty-breakers?

His View of the Military

Mr. Mann is not without answers. The intervention, his argument seems to run, was altogether a smart move, for it has given the OAS the alternative of either creating a permanent, stand-by peacekeeping force for handling "subversion" in Latin America, or suffering further US fractures of the OAS's Charter by unilateral US actions. The calculation is that in practice the OAS will itself act, however reluctantly, rather than face more Yanqui intervention. But once establish such an OAS force, the argument apparently continues, and "the button may never have to be pressed": the Communists possibly won't dare try anything. By the same reasoning, the somewhat elusive Communists in the Dominican Republic are now said to be sealed in and holed up, thanks to the American intervention, and are no longer particularly to be feared.

Latins, and some Americans, fault the argument on at least two scores. Fatally egged on by the unilateral US action, some Latin American countries that are now under military juntas may be tempted to cry to hell with the OAS Charter and to intervene in their neighbors' affairs, to "prevent a Communist takeover." And the distasteful choice confronting the OAS may put the OAS at loggerheads with the United Nations – though this, of course, will not bother people who regard the UN too as just part of the international Communist conspiracy.

Mr. Mann has been accused of undue admiration for Latin America's military men. It is said, for instance, that he strongly holds the view that the military in Latin America really provide the only satisfactory base on which economically viable governments can be built up. The question is, of course, which military men are being talked about? There are progressive-minded young officers as well as fascist-minded generals. Colonel Caamano, the military leader of the Dominican Republic's constitutional rebels, is a progressive-minded young officer; General Imbert, who is fighting Caamano, was one of the assassins of the hated dictator Trujillo, but nevertheless has been scathingly described by the former President of Costa Rica, Pepe Figueres, as "the wolf who killed the other wolf in order to take over the cave."

It is no secret that Mr. Mann thinks the democratically-elected Juan Bosch made a mess of being President of the Dominican Republic, but he seems to pass somewhat lightly over the blunders and the corruption of Bosch's successors as well as of other juntas – eight since 1961 – that have overthrown constitutional governments. He is tolerant of those coups, saying that Latin American military men show an "ever greater degree" of social consciousness and political responsibility. With the eye of faith, he also perceives more and more "industrialists with consciences."

Such optimism seems to glide over hard facts – the enormous conspicuous consumption of the upper five percent of Latin Americans who also salt away chunks of their huge profits in US securities and Swiss banks while they beg more foreign capital; and the terrible poverty of the vast majority. This situation, of course, is ready-made for the Communists, who probably *will* rise, some day, to the top of the crock unless quite drastic economic and social reforms are pushed through quickly in the 21 Latin American countries.

Mr. Mann has appealed to Latin America's upper crust for "social justice" in characteristic, practical-seeming terms. He has indicated to them his belief that if people aren't fed, educated and paid decently,

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they won't be able to work efficiently and won't be a sufficient market for the goods that are produced. But he is also full of warnings of the dire consequences likely to ensue if the rich are even slightly damped. "Each country must decide for itself what tax system and tax rate can best provide the largest revenue possible without destroying incentives. . . . Governments must follow the fiscal and monetary policies which make large-scale domestic savings and private investment feasible. . . ." A government's responsibility is to see that "property rights are preserved," but, alas, "how many times have we seen governments destroy the confidence of their own people by openly collaborating with Communist political groups?" (Okay: in Latin America, how many times?) An admirer of his competence says reluctantly, "His economic thinking is, at latest, 19th Century." The two Latin American countries he is most hopeful about are Mexico, where he was Ambassador from 1961 until January last year, and Brazil. Mexico is relatively stable politically, but is a one-party state. Its rate of economic growth is four percent, but population growth cuts this to a one percent per-capita crawl. Brazil at the moment is run by the military and the regime is highly unpopular with both the middle class and the workers because of the continuing rise in the cost of living in spite of austerity measures that have bankrupted many firms.

Of course, Mr. Mann is quite right to insist that Latin American governments become more efficient, that production increase and that the population problem – an explosive doubling of the present 200 million in the next 20 years – be tackled. Corruption and tax evasion and other evils have to be curbed. But how? The former Ambassador to the Dominican Republic, John Bartlow Martin, said: "Our common purpose is to make a revolution. And the questions we must confront are these: Is a social revolution compatible with a business system of free enterprise? . . . Can we summon the wisdom, courage, patience and above all the confidence we need – confidence in ourselves, confidence in ordinary people?" These are questions that demand hard-headed answers. It's a pity that so able and devoted a person as Undersecretary Mann, who calls himself a pragmatist, should seem to duck them and waste his time on "Communist plots" and romantic foolishness about men on horseback.

DEATH OF THE INTER-AMERICAN SYSTEM?

Report from the Dominican Republic

Santo Domingo

McGeorge Bundy's departure has left a military and political deadlock, with no break in sight. Military activity since General Imbert's bloody cleanup of the capital's north side has subsided to occasional isolated shots and a few casualties. The rebels and the Americans are enforcing the cease-fire strictly. The Imbert side keeps demanding to be unleashed, but Imbert's forces are effectively blocked by American tanks, guns and ships from any attack by land, sea or air on downtown. A memorandum by Imbert proposes a form of government for the Dominican Republic patterned on Mussolini's Italy, and on the council that was employed by General Fulgencio Batista to give the Cuban dictator "full popular support" and "satisfy the democratic principle of separation of powers as prescribed by the philosopher Montesquieu."

The new inter-American force, created at a ceremony with US military commanders wearing OAS armbands, remains a façade for unilateral US intervention. By far the largest part is the 22,000 US troops still here, with no substantial reduction now contemplated. The Latin American contingents consist of 21 policemen from Costa Rica and about 1,600 troops from three military dictatorships: Brazil, Honduras and Nicaragua. The United States seems to be achieving its long-held objective of transforming the OAS into an effective instrument of US policy in the hemisphere. The consequence could well be that a number of the most important constitutional democracies will lose interest or drop out entirely.

The future of the Dominican Republic depends at this writing on whether the United States keeps its word and prevents General Imbert's patched-up "loyalist" army from entering the besieged downtown section to try to finish its "cleanup" of Colonel Caamano Deño's "constitutionalist" rebels.

Agreements have a way of coming unstuck moments after they are glued together here, but last week the

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US seemed to have reached an agreement with Caamano on a provisional government representing a coalition of moderates and excluding the extreme left and extreme right. It would mean shutting out the leadership of the leftist 14th of June movement along with the Communists. The 14th of June is a mass youth movement that has supplied much of Caamano's dedicated fighting strength. Imbert so far has rejected any such solution.

Imbert's "government" has the support of only that thin upper crust which generally made its peace with Trujillo by trading liberty for stability and approved of the overthrow of Bosch. An apparent calm in the provinces is maintained only by strict suppressive tactics by the military, as when 50 union leaders and politicians were arrested in Santiago to head off a general strike in support of Caamano.

Whatever happens, the position of the United States in the rest of the hemisphere has been changed profoundly by President Johnson's return to the hated policy of intervention. The basis he gave – that the revolution had been taken over by Communists – was not supported by persuasive evidence and now has been all but abandoned. The argument rested on the assumption that Communists or Castroists are so effective that they cannot participate in a movement without controlling it. Even if the Communists did or could take over this revolution, the use of military intervention to stop it is hard to sell in Latin America. The United States blockade of Cuba in the 1962 missile crisis was acceptable only because the Russian rockets were considered an immediate military threat to the United States. Preventive war is a different matter, and this is close to it.

In a very broad perspective, the American intervention reverses not only the Alliance for Progress concept of John F. Kennedy but even the good neighbor policy of Franklin D. Roosevelt. That policy essentially was a promise to end US intervention in the domestic affairs of Latin American nations. Its counterpart was the development of an inter-American system that would substitute collective action by the American republics for unilateral police action by the United States. Threats from outside the hemisphere were to be met collectively by the American republics instead of being handled by the United States alone. The Monroe Doctrine thus was multilateralized.

The United States has discredited this inter-American system by trying to use it to legalize an originally illegal act. By drastic pressure and sending the best US friends of Latin America around the hemisphere as special emissaries, Washington was able to scrape together a bare two-thirds vote in support of an inter-American force that would absorb the United States forces. But the Latin American troops were slow to arrive, and the OAS proved itself ineffective in maintaining its own cease-fire agreement, the impressively titled "Act of Santo Domingo."

When José Mora, the OAS secretary general, faced some critical questioning at a news conference – Imbert's forces were just finishing their victorious sweep across the north side despite the cease-fire – Mora was reduced to mentioning the fact that lights and water had been restored in the Embajador Hotel as evidence that the situation was improving.

It was the United Nations, in the person of José Antonio Mayobre, that achieved the first real cease-fire. In entering the picture, the UN filled a vacuum left by the ineptness and incompetence of the OAS. There is some irony in the situation. The United States intervened because the OAS would have been too slow to act against an alleged Communist threat. The United States then relied on the OAS to make the intervention legal. The OAS stalled and played favorites, largely ignoring Caamano and dealing with Imbert. The UN stepped in, and the Dominican affair became a world rather than a hemispheric problem. If the Monroe Doctrine could be said to have survived Cuba, it certainly can be said to have died in the Dominican Republic.

As for the Alliance for Progress, it already had been cut back to little more than an economic assistance operation, undertaken largely on banking principles. The essential spirit, the promotion of rapid social and political reform through peaceful revolution, had pretty well vanished already. It had been a long time since a top American official had quoted John F. Kennedy's line that made such an impression in Latin America: "If the free society cannot help the many who are poor, it cannot save the few who are rich."

Intervention has aligned the United States with the military juntas of Latin America and against the constitutional democracies. It has given implied approval to the military coup in Guatemala that kept Juan José Arevalo from the presidency, to the military ouster of President Ramon Villeda Morales in Honduras and President Victor Paz Estenssoro in Bolivia, and to the military leaders in Argentina.

Furthermore, the United States intervention has been a direct affront to the entire anti-Communist left in Latin America, of which Juan Bosch was a prominent member. It has set the US against the progressive regimes in Mexico, Chile, Peru and Venezuela, among the best friends of the United States in the developing American system envisaged by Mr. Kennedy. It has encouraged the conservative military leaders and oligarchies that through the years have played footsie even with Communists to spite progressive democracy under the anti-Communist left.

RICHARD DUDMAN

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Can Lindsay Make It?

He's the GOP's Best Chance for a Comeback

by Murray Kempton

New York City

John Lindsay may be a figure of immense consequence in the Republican future, but at the moment his venture into the swamp of New York as a candidate for Mayor is only a new chapter in the extraordinary history of Robert F. Wagner. Lindsay is the first event in municipal affairs over the last five years who can be described as contrary to the Mayor's own plan.

Wagner is a parochial man; to find his like we must go back to the little margraves of the German principalities of the 18th Century. It is his strength that he is infinitely flexible. He keeps no compacts. His longest term of allegiance is his current one with Nelson Rockefeller. When the Robert Kennedy forces had the Mayor outnumbered in the Democratic majority of the state legislature last winter, he moved easily into a working partnership with Rockefeller and the Republican minority; the consequence was that his men and the Governor's operated the legislature to the general happiness of both. It has been a fruitful alliance. The Mayor had every reason to expect that the Governor would offer the most quiescent possible Republican opponent for him this November. Wagner was so content with the Governor that, once reelected as Mayor and assured control of the Democratic Party, he would do everything to assure Rockefeller's reelection in 1966, even to the extent of opposing the Governor himself if no other opponent seemed safe enough.

John Lindsay, of course, was as much a disturbance to this alliance as Robert Kennedy. Lindsay is St. Paul's, Yale, Yale Law School, a member of the Yale Corporation, Freedom House and the Episcopal Church. He is also a vastly successful and liberal Congressman, whose 91,000-vote plurality in Manhattan's 17th District last November gave him a prestige quite beyond the dimensions of the office. It was natural that he should be thought to deserve more than a seat in Congress, and that he should be a shining object to young Republicans desperate for some victory, who see their chance in the campaign for Mayor of New York. It is the largest office at stake in the country this fall.

Governor Rockefeller offered Lindsay the nomination last March, as he almost had to. But for the best reasons of state, Mr. Rockefeller asked Lindsay to wait to announce until after the state legislature had passed the Governor's budget; he needed the votes of Wagnerians in Albany and feared trouble if he were forced to dishonor his compact with the Mayor in public too early. So, for the moment, Lindsay bowed out; it seemed at the time the appointed ritual of New York Republican politics, which is for a man to do what happens to suit his convenience and blame the necessity on Rockefeller. The Governor then settled back to watch the New York County Republican leaders search for the condemned man.

In May, quite suddenly, Congressman Lindsay announced that he had changed his mind and would, after all, undertake the adventure. The Governor's public utterances since have alternated between benevolence toward Wagner and enthusiasm for Lindsay's youth and vigor. Rockefeller's detachment is commendable; it represents a triumph of party over self-interest. For if Wagner is defeated, control of the New York State Democratic Party will pass to those leaders who have made Robert Kennedy their rallying point; they are Wagner's inferiors in cunning but far hungrier, and they could turn Rockefeller's campaign for reelection from the delicate to the desperate.

Still, all the rules of conventional politics indicate that Rockefeller and Wagner both will come safely through this unexpected crisis. The city's registration runs close to three-to-one Democratic, and the Mayor can also count on the Liberal Party which generally summons up slightly more than 10 percent of the city vote. This is a preponderance which, in recent memory, has always been stronger than charm. Mr. Eisenhower never carried New York City; Rockefeller, even in his first bloom, lost it to Averell Harriman in 1958. Senator Javits carried the city against the Democrats in 1962, but it was a triumph which reflected not just Javits' special appeal to liberal Democrats but that New York habit of voting Republican only for secondary offices, of which Lindsay and Javits are such conspicuous beneficiaries. Rockefeller was at the top of the Republican line that year, and he failed to carry the city. The New York voter habitually exercises what taste he has for independence only after render-

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ing due fealty to the major Democratic candidate.

Lindsay's first day's campaign was a discovery of how immense New York is and how complicated. His knowledge of the city – like that of most of its more articulate citizens – is limited to Manhattan. He carried a speech tailored to Manhattan announcing his candidacy and read it aloud in each of the five boroughs. The effect was odd. On Staten Island, Lindsay paused in a setting almost bucolic and dutifully read lines like: "... In our city our streets are dirty and unsafe ... crime, brutality and narcotics are rampant ... the vicious cycle of slum living continues."

Manhattan, however, is the only New York borough where the middle-class and the poor live generally in sight of one another and whose residents have the sense of wandering in a jungle. The other scenes of Lindsay's first pilgrimage were strangely out of key with the tone he had picked up from those newspaper editorials which say New York City when they mean only Manhattan: Forest Hills, as an instance, is the site of the West Side Tennis Club; Brooklyn Heights is charming.

The Agile Dancer

The issues of municipal government are so complex, in fact, that every suggestion for change need only be answered by an objection to change which will seem entirely plausible to an important segment of the voters. New York has been agitated for more than a year now with demands for an independent board to review civilian complaints about police conduct. Until now, they have been subject to judgment only by the police themselves. The other day, Lindsay came out for a public review board which, limited as it was, nevertheless aroused the resistance of the police. The Mayor, simply by waiting, proved once again how dangerous all intervention is to a political career in his city. Wagner has always understood that the 219,000 city employees are a force far more powerful than all the political clubs and party organizations.

The Democratic majority is a battleground for contending sects so nearly equal in strength that a dancer as agile as the Mayor need only select the one he needs at a given occasion and have enough company to feel secure. In 1961 when the orthodox leaders turned on him, the Mayor threw in with the reformers. Government went on thereafter being pretty much what it had been; the reform impulse was measurably weakened by the experiment with Wagner; its leaders are not quite flexible enough to side with Wagner again, but not quite adventurous enough to oppose him directly. Lindsay would seem to have on his side much of what remains of the reform spirit, although it is divided. The Mayor has never really been comfortable with the reformers, and he is content to see them go, at least so long as all of them do not go. He has moved with his usual agility to parleys with former Congressman Charles Buckley, whose ancient sovereignty over the Bronx has been gravely damaged by four years of fratricide with Wagner and who would be glad of peace. The Mayor then can expect the help of what bosses have survived his own essay at reform; he will campaign as happily for what is called bad government as four years ago he did for what is called good.

There were murmurs that Lindsay had only to announce his candidacy to bring an army of dissident Democrats to his side; they have been quiet since his declaration. Lindsay does his utmost to conceal his Republicanism; but there is a general awareness among activist Democrats that the Chairman of the Republican National Committee sees the Lindsay campaign as the party's only real chance for a noticeable comeback this fall. Pressures on the Democrats to remain orthodox are strong. Democratic Congressman William Ryan, though an open rebel against Wagner, has already said that he cannot support any man who voted for Eisenhower against Stevenson. That formula will serve many a Democrat who otherwise wishes Wagner anything but good.

Lindsay is close to Wagner in the polls – and ahead in at least two – but in no case do more than 65 percent of those questioned seem decided. Wagner does not often have more than 40 percent of the vote in the summer before the election; his entertainment as a politician is in the sleights and devices he exercises to recover the majority. Indeed, it is possible that he always has the majority, and that the large percentage reporting itself undecided represents persons so aware of the fashion of criticizing Wagner that they do not like to admit that they are for him. Generally speaking the Mayor has the goodwill of New Yorkers; they think him essentially an honest man, and they are right to the extent that he has never told them a lie which he has not first believed himself.

Those are the ponderables. The imponderables are something else. They are chiefly Lindsay's youth and energy (he is 43, Wagner is 55), and the fact that he seems fresh when everyone else seems tired. That is not altogether an asset, however, in a city whose mood is exhausted and which feels a common bond with a Mayor in the same condition. Wagner's mixture of resignation with enjoyment of his life is a very New York combination: the notion that New York cannot be governed has become almost a point of civic pride. Nevertheless, Lindsay's mere presence is unexpected enough to place many of the old assumptions in question. A politics founded on the habit of resignation will survive almost anything except the challenge of a politics founded on the innovation of hope.

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Onward and Upward with Herman Kahn

by Alastair Buchan

Strategic analysis has been, for the past fifteen years, a growth industry in the United States. Advances in the conception of how wars may be deterred or fought have in most countries and generations been the work of those outside the official machine, and their position has often been a rather lonely and unpopular one, compelling rather than inviting attention. What is novel in the contemporary American scene is the ready respect which officialdom has paid to the work of the proliferating centers of strategic analysis outside the government, whether officially financed or not.

On Escalation: Metaphors and Scenarios
by Herman Kahn
(Praeger; $6.95)

The reasons, I think, why the private strategic industry is proportionately so much larger in the United States than anywhere else are, first, that the American bureaucracy does not, as in Britain and France, attract the intellectual elite and it is therefore more ready to accept outside advice, whether in strategic, economic or agricultural policy; second, that the American professional soldier now feels overwhelmed by the weight of responsibility which he bears on behalf of his country for the security of the world, and is therefore less averse to sharing it with able students of his own problems than general staffs in other generations or countries. Finally, the nuclear missile age, because of the awful consequences of a false step, has tended to elevate relatively minor decisions from the command post to the cabinet room; this has had the effect of making not only the conception but the practice of strategy an increasingly civilian business.

There has, of course, been a discernible change since the arrival of Mr. McNamara at the Pentagon and the importation of a number of able intellectuals from the outside industry into the government machine – such men as Charles Hitch, Alain Enthoven, Henry Rowen, Daniel Ellsberg. This has had the effect of increasing the assurance of official policy and making it less receptive to external views or criticism. But the fact remains that responsibility for creating the national climate of opinion, for attempting to discern the longer term effects of weapons policy, of creating the stimulus of new ideas about arms control, alliance policy or the foundations of international security, still rests with the civil industry, or rather with some ten or twelve of its leaders. Although there is a certain price to be paid, as I shall suggest, for the openness of the American strategic debate, it has so far had the inestimable benefit of preventing American strategic thought from ossifying into dogma, as constantly happened within the closed, though highly intellectual, circle of French policy-making on strategic questions in the century-and-a-half after Napoleon – with such repeatedly disastrous consequences.

Of all the prophets of strategic reality, none – judging from the sales of his books – has had greater honor in his own country than Herman Kahn. As often happens with academics who have a success with the general public, whether they be astronomers, philosophers or social scientists, this has given him a rather equivocal standing with the other members of his own fraternity who feel that he has plagiarized their ideas, or by vulgarizing complex trains of thought has given a handle to those who equate serious strategic analysis with militarism. Yet his sternest critics would acknowledge that even in a vast, disorganized, rummage sale of a book like *On Thermonuclear War*, there is a contribution of real originality, humanity and intellectual courage which few others have been able to bring to so difficult a subject. Having reorganized his ideas in a more intelligible fashion, in *Thinking about the Unthinkable*, he has now presented us with the thoughts of himself and his colleagues at his own Hudson Institute about a subject on which clear thought is very timely.

"Escalation" is a new word in the jargon of international relations (I do not know who is responsible for it) and has come to be associated in the public mind with some grisly, semi-automatic rise in the level of conflict, particularly if war occurred in Europe or if nuclear weapons were used. But as Kahn points out, it is an ancient method of conducting international arguments; it need not have automatic characteristics; it need not even involve violence or an increase of it. The constant attempt at systemization, the endless tables and charts which clutter his other books can be a nuisance, but here is of value for he has devised a model ladder of escalation with 44 rungs with six natural fire breaks in between them. The first nine are simply various forms of politi-

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cal or diplomatic stances, though including such acts as partial mobilization or a show of force. Beyond this the threshold is passed at which "nuclear war is unthinkable." The next ten rungs denote an increasing conflict of wills rising from the breaking off of diplomatic relations through large-scale conventional actions (the highest point in the ladder we have reached since World War II) to various forms of ultimation, blockade and other forms of pressure.

At this point, Kahn inserts a chapter on "The nuclear threshold" which seems to me full of good sense, perhaps because I agree wholeheartedly with it. In it he balances the views of those who argue that the nuclear weapon has become conventional, against those who feel that the distinction between the chemical and the nuclear explosive – however illogical, since nuclear weapons can be made with smaller yields than large high explosive ones – is the one "fire break" which everyone understands: "In a world in which there is no legislature to set new rules, and the only method of changing the rules is through a complex and unreliable systems-bargaining process each side should – other things being equal – be anxious to preserve whatever thresholds there are." And "If the intention of the combatants, real and potential, is to *limit* war, then 'illogical' constraining elements in the rules of the game are not simply an impediment, but, on the contrary, are likely to be essential to the process of war limitation."

There are still 24 rungs in his ladder between the passage of the nuclear threshold to some form of local nuclear war and an all-out insensate exchange of blows. In climbing them the remarkable fertility of Kahn's mind is manifested and the central value of this book lies in demonstrating what a very wide range of alternative means demonstrating national determination and capability exist for powers with such varied arsenals as the United States and the Soviet Union, other than simply destroying each other's civilizations. He is careful to make clear that this does not make war at this level a prospect to be contemplated with equanimity, but that there is a direct connection between escalation and negotiation and that it is not like fire running up a pine tree:

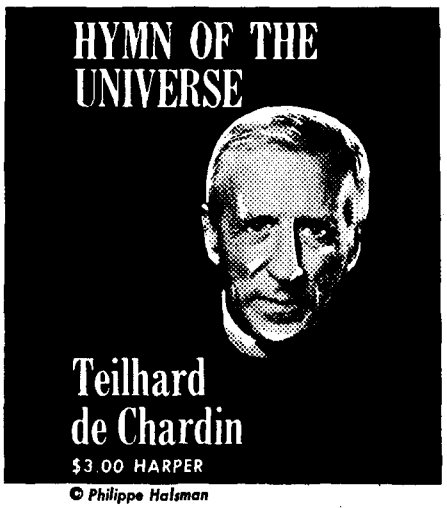
> "Even if the balance of terror becomes relatively stable, war can still occur. And particularly in a balance-of-terror situation, the difference between intelligent, sophisticated and rational use of weapons, and stupid, thoughtless or emotional use, would loom very large."
>
> "If I were to pinpoint what I believe to be the single greatest lack in US central war planning, it would be insufficient thought about how and under what conditions we would wish to terminate a war, and what kind of offers and threats we would make to an enemy."

For all its quality and responsibility, the analysis seems to me to suffer from two defects. The first is that it is too much preoccupied with the least probable hypothesis, namely war between the Soviet Union and the United States, countries with comparable alternative and bargaining power. It takes insufficient account of the kind of situation that has developed in Vietnam where the escalation gets stuck and seems unlikely to produce a satisfactory settlement, because each side can apply different forms of pressure which have a needling rather than a moderating influence on the other, American air power versus Viet Cong jungle power. Kahn's categories hardly fit a situation in which one side has a rapier and the other a bludgeon. And this is likely to be a common thing in the future.

The other concerns his belief that the evacuation of American cities – perhaps for prolonged periods – can be used as a means of limiting damage or of demonstrating determination at various levels of nuclear crisis. I just do not see this as being a feasible option, given modern urban and suburban densities, the complex requirements of urban populations, and the attractive allergy to the draconian form of discipline that would be required on the part of the average American man – let alone American woman. The nuclear weapon and the modern city complex are products of the same socio-technical revolution and the vulnerability of the former has to be accepted as one of the datum points in dealing with the latter.

But my real complaint about this, as about Kahn's earlier books, is that it is careless. One can overlook such an innocent error as quoting from Samuel Johnson and attributing it to Ben Jonson. One can ignore the sentences that do not make logical or grammatical sense. One can forgive him for such a remarkable *obiter dictum* as "Deterrence is, in this formulation, maintained by bluff and the uncertainties surrounding the situation, of which one – a real one, in view of the *historical* record – is the possibility that the British would, in fact, back down if it came to the test," however comic it may seem to my decadent countrymen in a year that is the 25th anniversary of the Battle of Britain, the fiftieth of Ypres and Gallipoli and the 150th of Waterloo.

What is less forgivable is his attempt to evade the clear definition of ideas which, as he says, "are not really as sophisticated or esoteric as usually believed," by using obscure home-made jargon or reintroducing pretentious words like "agonistic" or "propadeutic" which dropped out of the language of scholarship into that of pedantry many years ago. What is not forgivable is his tendency to think aloud, to throw out half-baked proposals like a European Strategic Defense Community with an automatic retaliation policy which is the reverse of that he advocates for the United States. Even his most useful conceptions of the forms that escalation can take are not set in a framework of real constraints, allied



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pressure, UN pressure, domestic pressure that would operate on the President in a crisis, and his chapter on De-escalation is the weakest in the book.

The very openness of the American strategic debate imposes certain restraints upon the civilian analyst. Because he is known to have a certain influence on policy making, what he writes is read with close attention not only in the United States but in the Soviet Union and the allied countries, by people who may be unable to distinguish what have roots in policy and what is mere speculation. He cannot therefore permit himself the freedom of uninhibited academic debate, nor play with ideas, without risking damage to the nerve centers of international confidence: It is the price to be paid for power. This applies particularly to a writer as graphic and original as Herman Kahn, and I, for one, wish that he would now consolidate his ideas, simplify them, clarify them and ground them on a stronger basis of political reality rather than seek new ladders to climb.

Intellectualism in American Life

by Joseph Epstein

In *Men of Ideas* Professor Lewis Coser traces that strange and obviously suspicious group known as intellectuals from its first significant stirrings in 17th Century France on through the years to its rather uneasy assimilation in modern America. It is not a history of intellectuals he has written but instead something he calls "historical sociology," which is essentially concerned with limning in the lineaments of intellectual life, the conditions which have made it possible, and the institutions around which it has formed. Like the life in macrocosm of a recent fictional intellectual, Saul Bellow's Moses Elkanah Herzog, it is the story of a rise from humble origins to almost total disaster.

Men of Ideas
by Lewis Coser
(The Free Press; $5.95)

People or Personnel
by Paul Goodman
(Random House; $4.95)

If it had to be a tale told by a sociologist, then it is well that Lewis Coser has chosen to tell it. For Coser is one of a small band of American sociologists whose work does not labor the commonplace; it is unencumbered by tables and graphs, relying on thought rather than statistics. Nor does it see objectivity as synonymous with truth. Although every so often Coser will get off a cleanly barbaric sentence like "Geographical dispersion shades into or overlaps with functional differentiation," he occasionally achieves a graceful prose style and almost always commands a forceful one. Above and beyond all this, Coser has a fine sense of history, a strong commitment to the contemporary, and a keen eye for the relevant, without any of which qualities *Men of Ideas* should have been an extremely fatuous book.

It happens at a time of even more than usual crisis in intellectual life. Despair among intellectuals is as endemic as barbecues among the bourgeoisie. It is something of a problem when dentists read Genet and salesgirls flip over Antonioni while serious intellectual types, in the name of a fashion called camp, sit in hushed reverence before a Victor Mature movie. In art, the name Huntington Hartford conjures up visions of a grander philistinism than was ever Diamond Jim Brady's. In literary work, Mr. Dwight Macdonald, our most entertaining journalist, makes his living writing for mass magazines while claiming as his *chef d'oeuvre* an elitist view of culture. And in politics the nearest thing to an enshrined living hero, Norman Thomas, is feted by Mr. Henry Luce. No random survey of recent intellectual life gives one a sense of what William James called "the rich thicket of reality."

The intellectuals' straying from this thicket and their effort to machete their way back in are the main subjects of *Men of Ideas*. Coser begins with a

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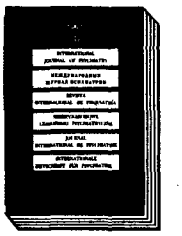

The current issue contains Alexander (USA) on *Psychotherapy and Learning Theory*, with discussions by Knobloch (Czech), Masserman (USA) and Dwyer (USA); Snezhnevski (USSR) on *Psychopharmacology and Psychiatry*, discussed by Lehmann (Canada) and Ewalt (USA); Eysenck (UK) replies to comments on his controversial evaluation of psychotherapy; and other articles.

Future issues will contain Kety (USA) on *Biochemical Theories of Schizophrenia;* Essen-Moller (Sweden) on *Twin Research in Psychiatry;* Kiev (USA) *The Study of Folk Psychiatry;* and G.A.P. *Psychiatric Aspects of the Prevention of Nuclear War.*

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series of brilliantly concise portraits of the earliest intellectual institutions: the French Rococo Salon, the English Coffeehouse, the first Scientific Societies. The main significance of each is that it provided a meeting place for minds and ideas, an aura in which wit, intellect, and learning were not only admired in themselves but became the key to social success. The English coffeehouses, for instance, in addition to producing the bulk of material which went into Addison and Steele's classic *Spectator Essays*, also allowed the intellectual, by drawing him out of his study and into the company of other men, to help form public opinion. Their closest analogy in modern America, I suppose, is San Francisco's Coexistence Bagel Shop, which has produced the bulk of material to go into Allen Ginsberg's *Reality Sandwiches* and a good deal of copy for the newsweeklies.

Serious troubles first set in with what Coser refers to as "the commercialization of writing." Despite Dr. Johnson's bluff confidence that "the world always lets a man tell what he thinks in his own way," with the rise of the bookseller in the late 18th and early 19th Century literary intellectuals were faced with a problem that never confronted their predecessors: how to reach a wide audience without lowering artistic standards? Coser cites four "case studies" – Walter Scott, Thackeray, Dickens, and George Eliot – of whom only the last brought it off altogether successfully. The cash-and-ego nexus, as the boys in the sociology department might put it, has ever since remained troublesome for intellectuals.

About the same time, political intellectuals were presented with a similar problem: how to make one's ideas count in society without losing one's ideals. Very few have pulled it off.

Ambling into the 20th Century, Coser takes up such intellectual phenomena as the British Fabians, the New Deal Brain Trusters, the love affair between left-wing intellectuals and the Soviet Union in the thirties, and the Greenwich Village of *The Masses* and Margaret Anderson's *The Little Review*. Miss Anderson's magazine gives a great deal of the tone and feel of pre-Depression American intellectual life; it published much of the early work of T. S. Eliot, William Carlos Williams, Jean Cocteau, Hart Crane, Louis Aragon, and Djuna Barnes. One month when the mail brought nothing interesting in the way of manuscripts, she published an issue largely filled with blank pages which should endear her to anyone who has ever worked on a magazine. Margaret Anderson was also the first person to publish excerpts from *Ulysses*. When in 1929 the magazine finally knuckled under – after going from a monthly to a quarterly to not appearing for three full years – the last major literary cause had been fought. Not long afterward, with the incomplete end of the New Deal and the revelations of the Moscow Trials, the last of the political causes to have interested intellectuals in a large way died with it.

When he comes to contemporary intellectual life, Coser makes much of this absence of causes. In literature he sees – rightly, I think – "a decreased distance between the modern writer

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and the surrounding society [as a result of] the institutionalization of modernism and the absorption of its main exponents by universities and other cultural establishments." Similarly, in politics: "radicalism and socialism have markedly declined . . . and most intellectuals who once subscribed to or sympathized with these movements have by now found havens in one or another position on that wide spectrum that in America is called 'liberalism'." Like Alfred de Musset, Coser seems to cry on behalf of the modern intellectual: "Alas. . . . We no longer have either hope or expectation, not even two little pieces of black wood in a cross before which to wring our hands. . . . Everything that was is no more. All that will be is not yet."

Although every now and again he holds out little sprigs of hope, Coser's critique is devastatingly bleak. "It is indeed hard to resist the lure of a culture that has become as absorbtive as our own," he writes, later noting: "It is indeed one of the paradoxes of recent developments that intellectuals, who suffered in the past from the rejection of social society, now must fear too ready acceptance." He then proceeds to describe, in a quite systematic way, how the unattached intellectual of the type of Edmund Wilson is dying out, the academic intellectual is becoming increasingly specialized and hence less intellectual, and the scientific intellectual has all but disappeared.

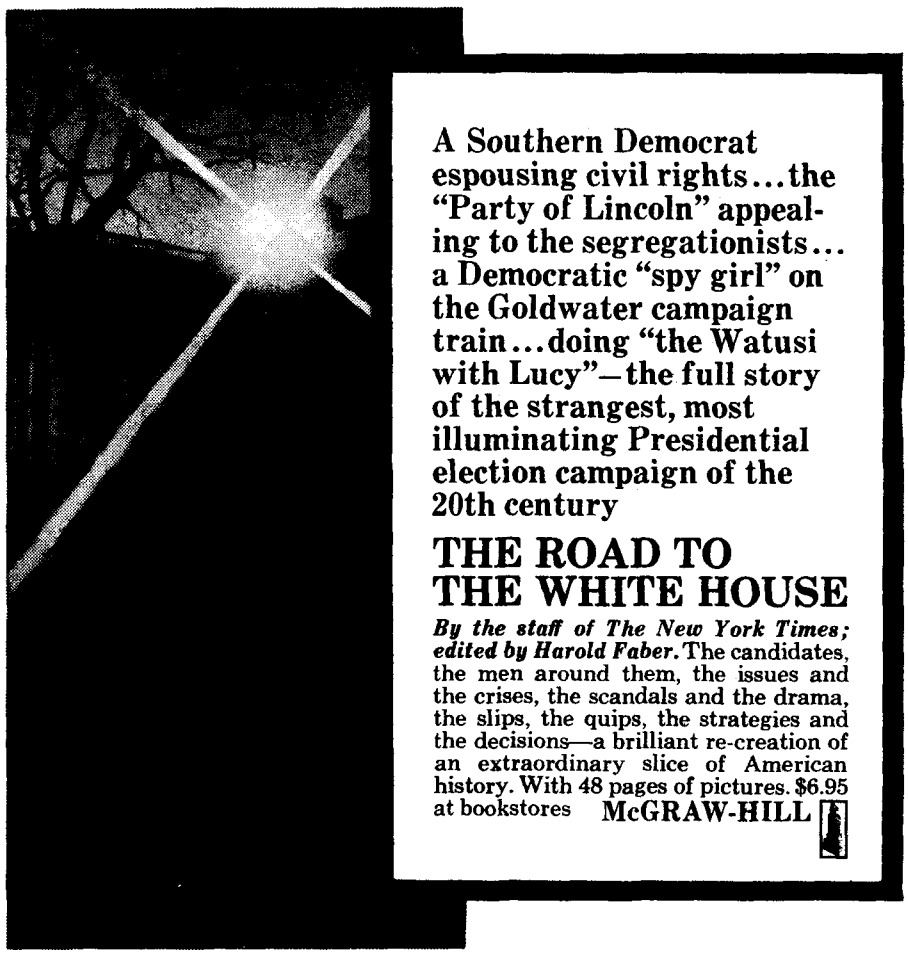
In the end, Coser sets out three possible modes of conduct for the American intellectual: Absorption, Alienation, or Detached Concern. That he himself opts for the last isn't surprising, since he finds "disinterestedness" to be the greatest of intellectual virtues. "Only," he writes, "if intellectuals preserve critical intelligence, maintain some remoteness from day-to-day tasks, and cultivate concern with ultimate rather than proximate values can they serve society fully." He also quotes David Riesman approvingly to the effect that "Were not intellectuals of more use to this country when they had less use for it?"

Yet Coser's conclusions too severely delimit the possibilities open to intellectuals. There are still plenty of reasons for them not to have much use for this country. Granted today's causes may not be as clean and clear-cut as they once were, there is still enough cruelty and stupidity in the land to keep one from settling in with all the back issues of *Kenyon Review*. Offhand, the following extant "causes" come to mind: civil rights; poverty; cybernetics; a government – our own – which a good part of the time seems to be lying about its foreign policy; a housing program – our own – which is largely inadequate to meet the need and which all too often seems to dispense shelter and human dislocation in about equal proportion; a literature in which moral idiocy is not only highly marketable but receives critical acclaim.

But let me at this point turn the soapbox over to Paul Goodman, who, I should think, is precisely the sort of intellectual Professor Coser most admires. Certainly he has the range that Coser likes. At various times Goodman has been a novelist, poet, dramatist, gestalt psychologist, social planner, urbanist, educator – everything one can think of short of a Baptist minister. Rather to his own chargrin, Goodman has of late also become something of a culture hero. What gives him his charm is that he seems only dimly aware of the revolutionary aspects of his own writing. This is what makes reading him so comforting, and explains, no doubt, why he is a culture hero.

People or Personnel is especially soothing. It is about decentralizing the organization of our lives and reducing to human scale the often exasperating and frequently dehumanizing bigness of many of our institutions. It is this bigness, Goodman rightly contends, that turns people into personnel. He is not at all doctrinaire. He would not have us decentralize all aspects of our society; in some areas, he feels that greater centralization is required. What he wants is greater efficiency, less waste and foolishness, and, most importantly, returning a sense of dignity and worth to people who have been divested of both through centralization.

The small farm, for example, could be kept alive through subsidy. Schools could be reduced in size and be gov-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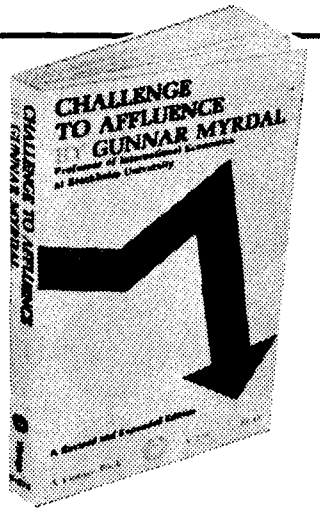

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erned by the people who send their kids to them. Factory, construction, even office workers could be broken down into crews with each crew responsible for its own work – done at its own pace, knocking off for lunch, coffee, or perhaps a bottle of wine when they damn well feel like it, leaving when the job is done.

Now how do we go about achieving this marvelous set-up? Do we apply for a Rockefeller Brothers grant? Do we storm the barricades of General Motors? Do we see to it that a copy of *People or Personnel* gets into the hands of Robert Sarnoff? If Goodman recognizes that there are any interests with heavy investments in the present organization of society – industrialists, labor, big farmers, civil servants, anyone who is making out well – he does not bring them up. He is a utopian formulating a plan. More detached than this it would be difficult to get.

Foster Damon and William Blake

by Harold Bloom

S. Foster Damon is the patriarch of Blake studies; everything of value written about Blake since 1924 stems quite directly from his magnificent *William Blake: His Philosophy and Symbols*, first issued in that year. Now, more than forty years later, Damon again enriches all students of Blake. Few modern American scholars of literature, in or out of the academies, can show so extraordinarily sustained a lifetime of creative research and surmise.

A Blake Dictionary
by S. Foster Damon
(Brown University Press; $15)

Before Damon, the criticism of Blake had been the province of poets and men-of-letters. The Rossettis, Swinburne and Yeats wrote wonderfully well about themselves in writing about Blake, but they left us Blake pretty much as they found him, obscured by popular myths and lazy-minded misapprehensions. Blake the happy mystic and occultist, quite pious finally, sometimes mad, increasingly self-contradictory and incoherent, and unable to write any poetry beyond the lyric; this is the Blake of amateur tradition, and one supposes that he will always somehow be with us, despite all the efforts of Damon and his school. Even now, some supposedly distinguished university presses give us amateur studies of Blake, written by academics who will not bother to do their homework. Yet, thanks to Damon, an alternative tradition of Blake studies exists, a tradition of which the major monuments include Northrop Frye's *Fearful Symmetry*, Erdman's *Prophet Against Empire* and now *A Blake Dictionary*.

The principal work of Damon and his disciples has been to demonstrate the coherence, beauty and significance of Blake's major poems, the sequence of mythopoeic and prophetic works culminating in the brief epic, *Milton*, and the "more extended and consolidated" *Jerusalem*. These two poems, offered in vain by Blake to the British public, present a good many immediate difficulties to the reader, but these difficulties are legitimate and worth overcoming, and the reader's reward is one of the central poetic experiences available in English, comparable to what can be encountered in Spenser, Milton and Wordsworth.

When Damon wrote his first major study of Blake, he had to emancipate himself from so many prevalent misapprehensions that some traces of the older tradition of Blake interpretation did linger on, principally the irrelevant Mystic Way, as patterned by Evelyn Underhill. In *A Blake Dictionary* this survives as one entry under "Mysticism"; otherwise the book is completely free of a concept that Blake did not care for, and indeed a word that he did not care to use. It is even more refreshing to find Damon casting aside all occultism as Blake's heroic Los did in *Jerusalem*. Damon's entry under "Hermes Trismegistus" gives us the much-desired last word on this matter. The "Smaragdine Table" of the Hermeticists is quoted in full, after which Damon adds: "Blake rejected this docu-

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ment, and with it all occultism." One hopes that this helps to end an absurd tradition of interpretation.

The uses of *A Blake Dictionary* are many, but the principal benefits to be derived from the volume are convenience of reference, and the saving of much time by any serious reader of Blake. The book can of course be misused, as a substitute for the actual reading of Blake, but as this is true of all commentary whatsoever, Damon's guide to Blake's ideas and symbols will do much more good than many recent studies of the poet.

In 460 double-columned pages of articles on all things Blakean, it would be unreasonable not to expect some mistakes and a fair number of rather personal interpretations. The only one I have noted that positively disturbs me is Damon's passionate identification of Blake's "Bard of Oxford" in *Jerusalem* as being none other than Percy Bysshe Shelley. This is, alas, chronologically impossible, and is delightfully arbitrary on Damon's part. Blake and Shelley have so many affinities, as poets and rebels, that it saddens any of us to learn that they never so much as heard of one another, but this seems to have been the case. Yet one arbitrary identification, one scholarly myth answering the heart's desires, can surely be allowed to a Blakean laborer of Foster Damon's permanent stature.

FILMS

Some Facts, Some Varying Fictions

Felix Greene, a British-born correspondent now a resident of California, who has visited Communist China several times and has written a book called *Awakened China*, has written, photographed, and produced a color documentary called *China!* It runs a bit over an hour and, although it tells us little that is new (or adverse to the regime) it is completely interesting.

China! (Felix Greene)
Mirage (Universal)
A High Wind in Jamaica
(20th Century-Fox)
The Amorous Adventures of Moll Flanders
(Paramount)

It is intended to show daily life, not to explicate politics or economics. Greene has photographed the new Chinese life in Shanghai, Peking, country villages (one of them stunningly beautiful) and in far Sinkiang with its camel transport and snows.

Schools, factories, shops, the Peking Symphony Orchestra, classes in English, a huge October parade, pass before us with an ostensibly balanced commentary. For example, Green notes that Shanghai used to be known as a city of gaiety, also of child prostitutes and corpses in the streets; now, he says, it has none of those things. There are mentions of recent discontents and of the unpleasantness attendant on all revolutions, but nothing unpleasant is shown. There is no mention of attitudes towards the West or towards Russia. (The film seems to have been made, according to one sign, in 1963.) The chief lesson of this documentary is the necessary iteration that comparisons of life in Communist China must be made, not with the rest of the world, but with what China itself used to be. The chief implicit irony is the ridiculousness of America's refusal to recognize this immense and highly organized state and to favor its admission to the UN. The chief pleasure is the reminder that, beneath political enmity and the frigidity of headlines, the Chinese share, to an amazing degree, one characteristic: charm.

If the last fifth or sixth of most suspense pictures were snipped off, they would be improved. Better to be left with intriguing unsolved mysteries than with burst and shredded balloons. Besides, the object is not clarification but sustained mystification, and, for a good mystery, only an even better solution can really be climactic. Anyone can think of fascinating suspense situations; how to get out of them equally

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fascinatingly is the real test of cleverness.

This test is badly failed by *Mirage,* which is quite entertaining for quite a while. Gregory Peck is on a high floor of a New York business skyscraper one day at dusk when suddenly all the lights go off. On the dark stairs he meets a girl who claims to know his voice but whom he does not know. When they get to the street level and she sees his face, she is angry at him for denying that he knows her, and she runs off. Complications increase rapidly, and soon include some corpses. Walter Matthau, whose by-now standard performance is still enjoyable, is on hand as an atypical private eye. For the most part, Peter Stone's dialogue is brisk, Edward Dmytryk's direction is taut, Ted J. Kent's editing is crisp; all are drenched by the wet conclusion.

After my disappointment in the film of *A High Wind in Jamaica,* I went back to Richard Hughes' fine novel to see whether mutilation helped explain the film's torpor. But, unlike *Lord Jim,* which diverged widely from its original and made some cinematically acceptable substitutions, *High Wind* keeps pretty close to the original story line. It is bogged down by inadequate acting and poor direction. As the Caribbean pirate captain of the early 19th Century who suddenly finds himself with a clutch of children in his care, Anthony Quinn has retrogressed from the alert acting he supplied in *Zorba the Greek;* here, as of yore, he loafs along on his size and voice and mannerisms – the usual Quinn *pro quo.* Gert Frobe (Goldfinger himself) must have been consigned largely to the cutting-room floor; it seems unlikely that he would have been engaged for the bit that is left him. James Coburn, a good, slick, contemporary comedian, is uncomfortable as the pirates' first mate. Lila Kedrova, another veteran of *Zorba,* proves again that she has a blown-rose beauty and that she is quite incompetent in English. Of the children, the most important, Emily, is adequately presented by Deborah Baxter. But the film's texture is so flabby, the pace so uncertain, the absence of a grip and a perspective so conspicuous, that the unsettling amorality of the novel – which is the whole point – is largely missing. The pre-*Lolita* disturbances of the captain *vis-à-vis* Emily are moderately clear; but the ghastly innocence of the children on this cutthroat ship, the effect on Emily of the murder she commits (in one way, it matures her! – in other ways, it leaves her almost untouched), the horror of the trial when she lets the captain go guiltless to his death – all these are either fuzzy or lost. The script by Ronald Harwood, Dennis Cannan, and Stanley Mann might have made a better film; Alexander Mackendrick's direction is logy.

Another, more famous novel has been adapted for the screen: *Moll Flanders* – now known as *The Amorous Adventures of* same. There is little point in comparing this picture with Defoe. It was made to cash in on the one-picture vogue for 18th-Century bawdiness created by *Tom Jones.* In fact, after the credits, it is coyly stated: "Any resemblance between this film and any other film is purely coincidental." Nay, faith, 'tis purely beneficial. For as unsatisfactory as the Fielding film was, at least Tony Richardson, the director, imitated a lot of better directors energetically; and, hampered though he was, at least it had an actor – Albert Finney – in the leading role. *Moll's* director, Terence Young, is best when he imitates an imitator; and the leading role is filled – only physically – by Kim Novak. Poor Miss Novak seems, as usual, too frightened to speak. Her narration on the sound track sounds as if done by another, and one may guess that even some of her on-screen dialogue is dubbed by someone else. There are a few enforced laughs in the picture, mostly supplied by Leo McKern as a bespectacled bandit, a role that appears to have been written for Peter Ustinov. The main effect of the film is concern for Miss Novak. One wonders about her as about some handsome performing animal: Is she tormented into doing her little set of feeble tricks? Are there hidden wires and whips? Electric goads? Surely – so uncomfortable she seems – she is not doing any of this by choice.

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ART

The Chester Dale Collection

After a long career of tantalizing museum directors and their trustees, the Chester Dale Collection has found its permanent home in the National Gallery of Art, which recently opened a new and lavish installation of the four hundred or so paintings so long familiar to museum visitors in Washington, in Philadelphia and in Chicago. In addition, the National has hung 88 works that hung in the benefactor's New York apartment until his death last year. The bequest is a handsome one, including books and papers, half a million for study grants and, of chief importance, the pictures themselves.

The heart of the collection is a magnificent run of French 19th and 20th Century painting, rounded out by some earlier items such as the marvelous Boucher Venus and Cupid and the powerful Magi's head by Rubens. There are also a few personal idiosyncracies, the most infamous being the huge Dali "Sacrament of the Last Supper." That picture, by the way, was long thought to be the outstanding violation of the Gallery's presumed bylaw against having work by artists dead less than 20 years. The explanation was that it was only on loan and still the property of Mr. Dale, not of the Gallery. Now that it is the property of the Gallery – along with any number of pictures by people still alive or but briefly dead – we learn that there was never any such rule; it was just operating policy, subject to change to meet special circumstances. Thus the Dale Bequest already alters the Gallery and its sphere of influence in Washington, which is important. Government agencies including the White House looked to the Gallery for guidance in all art matters: The director, John Walker, is on an inter-agency committee on postage stamps which is responsible for some of the really hopeful things that have taken place in that field; painting curator M. Lester Cooke conducts a very fruitful art program for NASA, shuttling artists and lllustrators down to Cape Kennedy to paint pretty much anything that takes their fancy. At the White House the long-standing policy against works by living artists has been based on the example of the National Gallery and its presumed rule. Now that the rule has never existed at all, one mental barrier is down between the executive department and contemporary American art.

The Dale Collection is also appropriate in its permanent location because it concentrates on democratic, eminently accessible, painting, perhaps the most so of any in all the millenia art has been going on. And the National Gallery is by all odds the most democratic and accessible art museum in the country. Every year, starting about now or a little earlier, the place is thronged with thousands of visitors who have come hundreds of miles and who have never set foot in the art museum at home. Now although almost anyone who denounces modern art indiscriminately is happy to announce that what he really likes is the art of the Renaissance, this is not true. The National Gallery visitor, happy to note that there is all but no modern art in the place, nevertheless is not as carried away by the splendid Renaissance collections as he may have expected. For the fact is they are not immediately accessible. They are not only difficult, they are considerably more difficult than a great deal of modern painting. The visitor, unaware of the aesthetic principles involved and unfamiliar with the decidedly non-Baptist Christianity animating the religious pictures, feels put off on both counts. He can respect the staff and even admire various aspects of the technical skill, but he is not lifted up by it, as he expects to be; mostly he does not even like it very much.

How completely different with the 19th Century French, especially the Impressionists and Post-Impressionists. To see them is to fall in love with their work at once and forever and never to grow tired of it. We have been badly miseducated in the field; all we can think about are divisionist techniques and the dissolution of color in light and the flattening of the picture toward its surface plane and the seemingly arbitrary cutting off of reality by the edges and all that guff. It's all true, but what we are really confronted with

NOTES ON CONTRIBUTORS

Alastair Buchan *is director of the Institute for Strategic Studies in London.* Joseph Epstein *was formerly an editor of a New York weekly.* Harold Bloom, *a professor of English at Yale, is the author of* Blake's Apocalypse *and other books on romantic poetry.*

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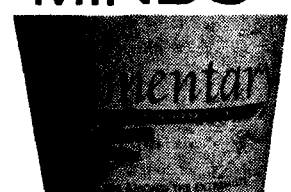

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in the golden period of French art from, say, 1848 to 1945, is an honest-to-God, authentic people's art, of the kind that culture commissars dream of in the abstract.

Some observers, including this one, have occasionally blamed the vulgar movie popularity of Van Gogh on the spectacular events of his life. This is probably not true; it's the paintings themselves that speak to Everyman and begin to do so at the instant of their meeting and do so even in reproduction. This is the abiding note in the Dale Collection and the one that makes it especially appropriate for a people's gallery, which the National is.

The Impressionist love affair with nature parallels very closely the feeling for nature growing up among the newly urbanized masses of the century, a feeling that still persists as we not only live in cities but manage to citify the countryside itself. The divisionist technique does a number of things besides embody a somewhat dubious theory about the nature of color and light. For one thing, with its celebrated effect of being just a scramble of paint strokes close to and falling into place as a landscape when viewed from across the room, the technique assures that the viewer is informed at once that the landscape he sees is also and simultaneously a painting; the two things exist at once. For another, the flurry of strokes translates very successfully into an art medium the feeling of pure, pulsing energy that the cityman admires in nature.

Or consider the view cut off at the edges as developed by Degas and, later, Lautrec. It does fit into a presumed art history development toward the picture plane, but it is also democratic in its way. It's a slice of life more accurately so called than anything Maupassant ever wrote, for the life, and even the characters, continue beyond the edge. Degas and Lautrec are also concerned, in the Dale pictures and elsewhere, with public, popular entertainment, viewed precisely as that, with none of the illusions that such entertainment strives to create. The Degas four dancers appear before scenery that is clearly painted and they are fiddling with their costumes just before going on. The painter determinedly confronts us with the reality of the dance as work while at the same time, in the colors, retaining some of illusion's effects. Lautrec goes a step further in his brothel and café scenes. There is no glamor in either, certainly no prurient inspection, nor in that inspection of merchandise being given by Maxime Dethomas. The edge of the canvas now says, perhaps, Hypocrite lecteur.

With Mary Cassatt the cutoff at the edge point of view is shifted to domestic scenes and to feminine pleasures of taking tea and boating, yet public entertainment is also of interest in a gorgeous picture of ladies at the theater, an elegant revision of the Daumier theme 35 years earlier.

The collection has a fine group of Monets from the sparkling spring light of 1880 to the pervasive mist of the turn of the century and later. Again, what matters is the experience of seeing; the pair of pictures of Rouen Cathedral have very little to do with the great church, everything to do with the experience of looking at it at different times of day: the interest has shifted to the consumer.

Much of this continues into the French 20th Century as represented in the Dale pictures. The Picassos, of course, are mostly from those still incredibly fruitful years before the "Demoiselles D'Avignon," which itself is a continuation of the Lautrec brothel. But before that, in the Dale pictures, we see a romanticized race of entertainers, acrobats on their travels, as, once more, done earlier by Daumier. There is a great Cubist still life and there are others by Braque; again, as with Monet, the painters are fascinated by the experience of seeing a democratic, consumer-oriented, art. Mary Cassatt's domestic felicity is continued in the quiet calm of the domestic still lifes and in the revived pointillism of Vuillard.

In this sweeping context, the two outstanding Americans of the collection may be seen as continuing the democratic revolution, though by other means: These are George Bellows and Guy Pène du Bois, both of them friends of Dale's.

The epoch may thus be viewed as Renaissance art can be viewed, as realizing very specifically and thoroughly the announced ideals of an epoch even while those in formal charge of such realization are evading their duty. Pope Julius was official Vicar of Christ on Earth and he behaved like a bandit; but his artists carried on the vicarage. The French Revolution introduced democracy into the common thought of Europe, but throughout the 19th Century the French people were seduced by one anti-republican after another, each more preposterous than the last. But in French art as never in French politics, the ideals of the French Revolution, of the people inheriting, were realized to the full and remain so today.

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Chicago's Poverty Program

Sirs:

James Ridgeway, in his article on the Chicago poverty program (May 15, 1965) by implication seriously indicts the Illinois State Employment Service, stating that certain unnamed persons "complained of the state employment service's 'scab labor' policy of sending people out to jobs paying them 60 cents to $1 an hour." The facts are these:

1) The Illinois Employment Security Manual prohibits reference of any person to any job paying substandard wages. No referral is ever made where the wages are substandard, or less than the prevailing wage for the work involved. The rule is rigidly adhered to.

2) No referral will be made to any job paying an illegal wage: *i.e.* to employment covered by the Federal Minimum Wage Law, in which less than $1.25 per hour is offered as the wage.

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The Illinois Department of Labor, the Employment Security Administration, and Governor Kerner have consistently fought for enactment of an Illinois minimum wage to protect employees of intra-state businesses not now covered by the federal law. The Illinois General Assembly has declined to pass this legislation . . . .

John E. Cullerton, Director
Illinois Department of Labor
Samuel C. Bernstein
Illinois Employment Security Administrator

In reply . . .
To say that "the Illinois Employment Security Manual prohibits reference of any person to any job paying substandard wages," and then to define substandard as "less than the prevailing" wage doesn't mean anything. In fact, as Messrs. Cullerton and Bernstein suggest, there must be considerable concern about wages paid employees in business not covered by the Federal Minimum Wage Law, or else why would Mr. Kerner be pushing to enact a state law? *James Ridgeway.*

The French in Gabon

Sirs:

I read with interest the recent statements of General de Gaulle and the French delegate to the UN, condemning US intervention in the Dominican Republic. . . . Only last year, the French themselves undertook strikingly similar action, motivated not by any moral or ideological convictions, but by pure self-interest. I refer to the case of the Gabon *coup d'état.*

Newly independent Gabon, in former French West Africa, is closely tied to France both economically and in matters of defense. This is hardly surprising when one remembers that from Gabon comes the uranium vital to the General's 'force de frappe'.

In February, 1964, a popular and bloodless coup, led by the military, overthrew the government of pro-French President M'ba. The military then handed over to M. Jean-Hilaire Aubame, Opposition Leader, and a man of moderate, although nationalist, views, who formed an administration. At this stage, the French stepped in. With the approval of one of the deposed ministers, who had not been placed under restriction, the French Ambassador called in the waiting paratroopers. The revolt was put down, blood was shed, and the status quo, together with the safety of French interests, restored. The leaders of the coup, including M. Aubame, were arrested, and heavy terms of imprisonment imposed. Only the risk of wider publicity prevented death sentences.

Richard D. Perry
London

Appeasement

Sirs:

Your correspondent Michael Lindsay (May 15) follows a familiar routine when he attempts to identify the position taken by those of us who want the United States to get out of Vietnam with that taken by the advocates of the policy of appeasement which led to the signing of the Munich agreement and to World War II. The historic facts are that the appeasers of 1938 sold out to Hitler and Mussolini because they lived in fear of Communism and hoped that a strengthened and satisfied bloc of fascist states in possesion of Central Europe would prevent its spread, and possibly destroy it. The State Department's current policy of propping up any seedy junta of military adventurers or any dictatorship that declares an anti-Communist intention is in the authentic line of descent from Munich policy. It is significant, also, that many of the spokesmen for the hard line in Vietnam and elsewhere are men of precisely the same type as the Munich cheers – "realists" who had come into politics after holding executive positions in industry.

Anthony West
New York, N.Y.

Aldous Huxley's Letters

Sirs:

The family of the late Aldous Huxley has authorized me to prepare an edition of his letters for publication by Harper & Row of New York and by Chatto & Windus, Ltd., London. I should be most grateful if any owners of letters from Aldous Huxley would be kind enough to send them (or copies) to me for this purpose. Original letters would of course be returned immediately.

Grover Smith
Associate Professor of English
Duke University
Durham, North Carolina

Is Peace Still Possible?

Sirs:

Perhaps the question Edgar Snow asked, "Is Peace Still Possible?" (May 22) can be answered more directly: Yes, it is, primarily because China is a paper tiger. If evidence is needed, Snow presented it, while drawing quite opposite conclusions. Snow quotes Mao Tse-tung's basic philosophy: "All power grows out of the barrel of a gun." Mao doesn't have the guns to fight a power much better prepared than Tibet or India. Snow explains, however, that Mao has a corollary to his dictum on the source of power, to wit, "Man is more important than the weapon." Mao doesn't mean men marching off

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to the polls in free elections. Nor does he even mean men marching in regimented demonstrations. He means human waves, with guns. Mao's waves might prevail for a while in another invasion of India, but only until support for India came from the United States and the Soviet Union.

Furthermore, most people in Asia, as well as in this part of the world, are fed up to the teeth with guns and war. They are critical of the bombing of Vietnam by our country, but even more critical of China's refusal to even admit the 17 non-aligned nations to China for a discussion of a cease fire and negotiated settlement of the war in Vietnam. For these two reasons (and many more) there will be a negotiated settlement of the Vietnam war. Peace is not only possible, it's probable.

Joseph Clark
Brooklyn, N. Y.

Hearing Aids

Sirs:

In "The Big Secret" (May 22), you talk about the purchasing of hearing aids by the Veterans Administration. You said "The VA buys hearing aids . . . for $125 on average for each instrument. The public often pays between $250 and $350. . . ." The tenor of the editorial is that $125 is some sort of a bargain and that the VA gets the bargain because it is an astute purchaser. Nothing could be further from the truth. No hearing aid should ever cost more than $25 or thereabouts.

A hearing aid is nothing more than an amplifier. To put it another way, a hearing aid is a miniature, portable, battery-operated radio without a detector stage. Anything above $25 per instrument for an agency like the VA, which must buy hundreds, perhaps thousands, each year is a vast overpayment.

I have no connection whatever with the hearing aid industry and no personal axe to grind; I do however know something about electronic miniaturization and the cost of parts and assembly. The public gets rooked more than does the VA but both get rooked, not just the public.

Alfred D. Rosenblatt
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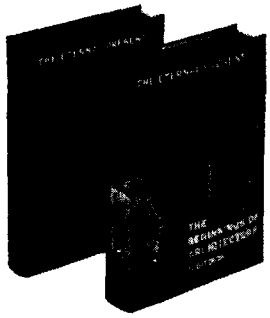

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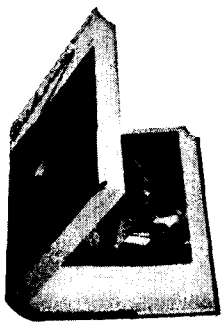

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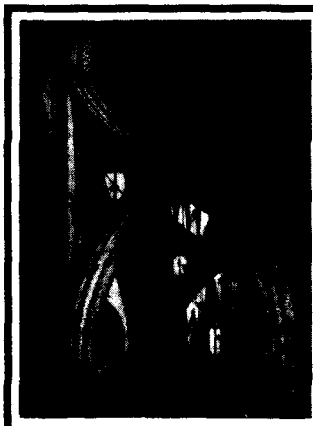

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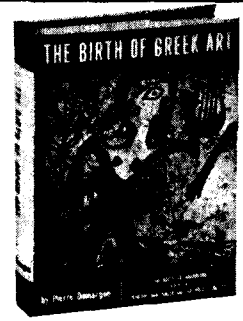

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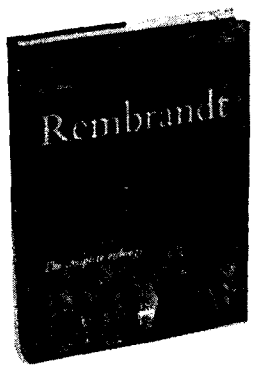

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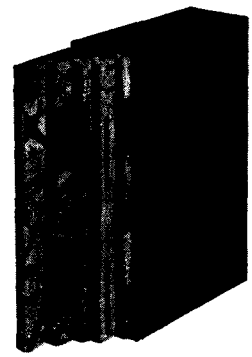

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